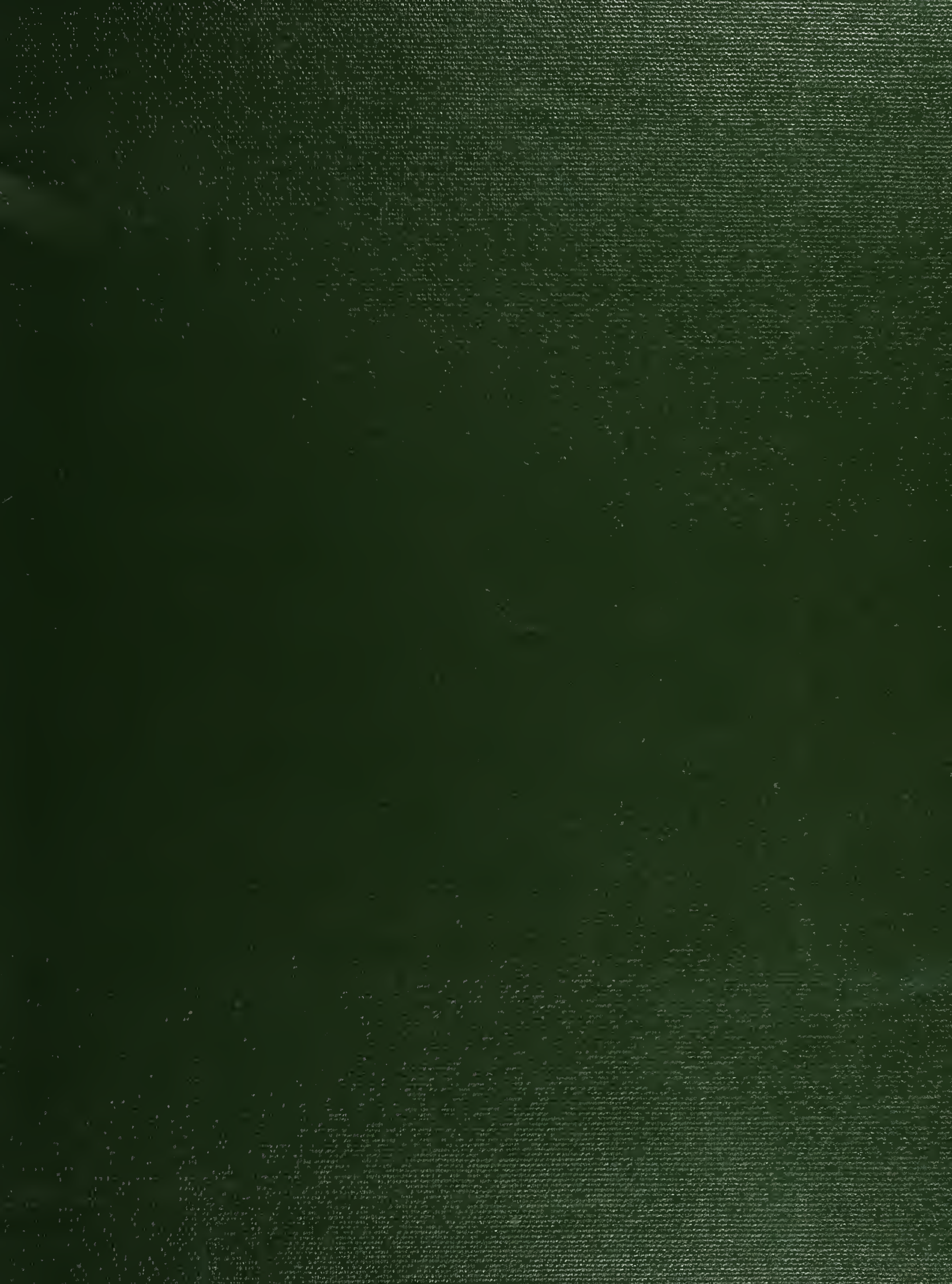

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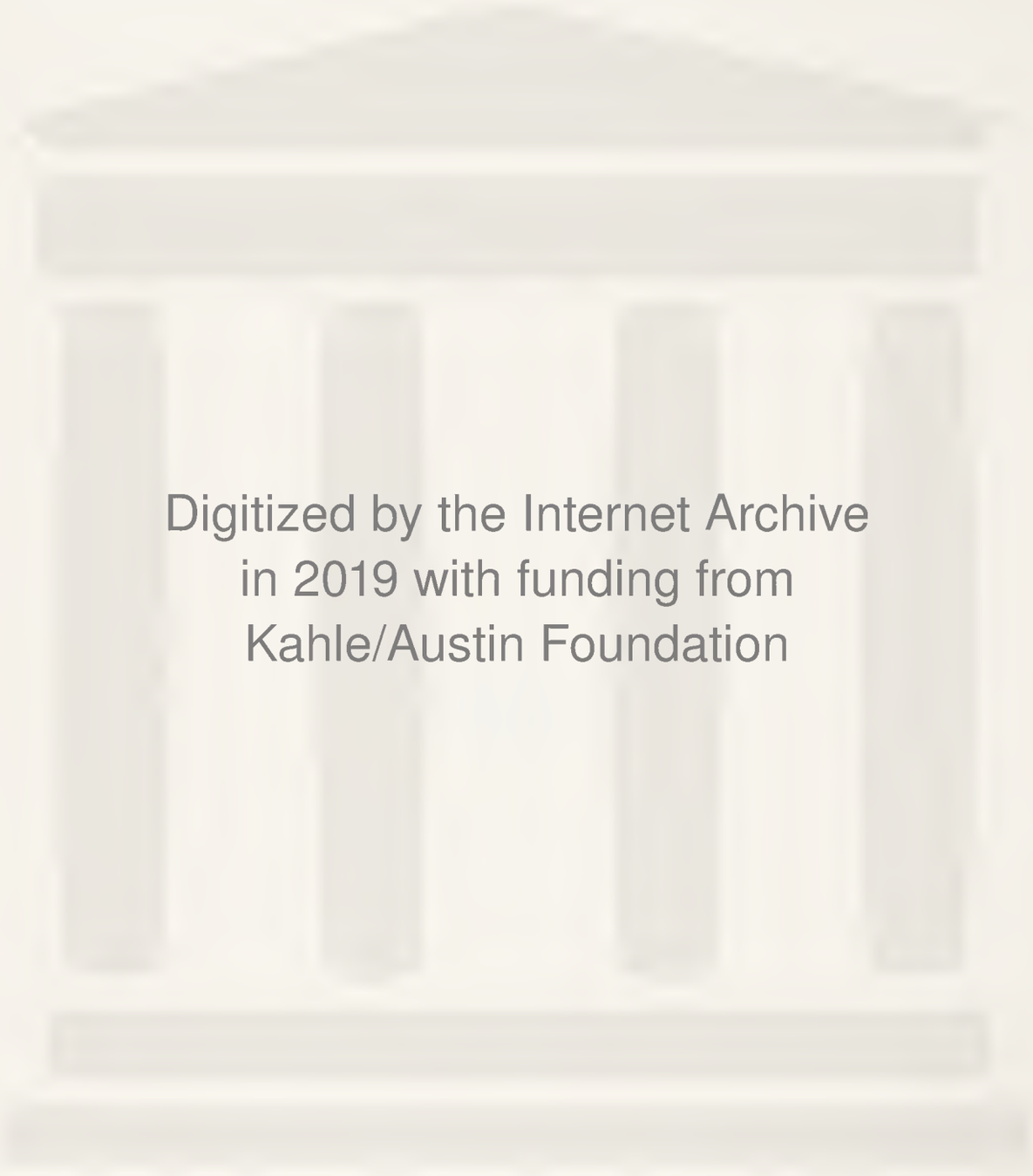
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Alfred Tennyson	1
John Everett Millais, R.A.	9
The Dean of Westminster	17
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P.	25
The Rev. Charles Haddon Spurgeon	33
William Holman Hunt	41
The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.	49
The Duke of Sutherland	57
Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P.	65
The Rev. Canon Farrar, D.D.	73
The Marquis of Salisbury	81
Sir Michael Costa	89
The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie	97
The Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P.	105
The Bishop of Peterborough	113
The Right Hon. R. A. Cross, M.P.	121
The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald	129
The Rev. Henry Allon	137
The Marquis of Hartington, M.P.	145
The Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P.	153

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Alfred Tennyson.

TENNYSON has been exceptionally fortunate among poets. The great singers of the world's later years have met with a kindlier reception at the hands of those whom they have lived to instruct and to delight, than fell to the lot of those who sang of old. There are many who are eager to exclaim against the age as a practical and a sordid one, but its treatment of art and of artists speaks well for its regard for higher ends than those of mere utility and money-getting. No new Otway-tragedy waits for the modern poet—no new Tasso dies a hungry death. If here and there a man of promise fails, as Richard Savage failed—and Bohemianism is on its last legs now—it is from congenital, and not from social causes. This is the true golden age of literature. There is no longer any need for the great wit to trouble himself nicely to balance the respective worth of solid pudding and of empty praise. The payment of the successful artist is as golden as the opinions of his admirers. But even in a time so exceptionally happy for the literary man, Tennyson has been fortunate beyond his compeers. The position he occupies with relation to his time is also exceptional as well as fortunate. There is with every entrance on a new era of thought or of experience, a subtle atmosphere of feeling, which may perhaps be best defined as a readiness to receive that which is approaching. There is at such a time a general but nebulous and undefined consciousness of desire, which is easily to be traced in the writings of the time which immediately foreruns the coming of the one great artist whose function it is to unfold the new doctrine, or to create the new phase of thought, or to realise the half-understood conceptions of a thousand waiting minds. This was especially the position of English thinkers before the publication of "In Memoriam," which came upon them suddenly, as a revelation of that which they themselves unconsciously wished for. It was not so much that the poet introduced any new phase of feeling, as that he crystallised thought which had hitherto been held in solution; that he made clear that which had hitherto been hazy and confused. He was happy in coming when the time was ripe for him. Great oracles have spoken in deaf ears before now, and the Holy City is not the only one whose people have stoned their prophets. It is sometimes the sorrowful great gift of the poet to see that which no other of his day can believe in—to be too far in advance of even the vanguard

of his time, for his song to be heard. Tennyson—happier than his mighty epic forefather desired to be—has found audience fit, and more than few. He has sung to the awakened heart of a whole people, and has found numberless sympathies in common with his own. It is for this that he is chiefly loved, that he has shown the very "spirit of the time his form and pressure;" that he has given us a translation of our nobler and higher inward life, as true as that which Thackeray and Dickens have left of our manners, or that which Hogarth presented of the outer aspect of the London life of the reigns of the first and second Georges. The poet is not less the *vates* because he has become so sweetly intimate. It is not that Tennyson is less a poet than those who wrote far in advance of their age. The immediate and general recognition of his first great poem arose simply from the fact that the people had reached a higher intellectual and spiritual plane than that which they occupied but a few years previously, when they were deaf to Keats, and only knew, or falsely thought they knew, the author of "The Cenci" and "Prometheus Unbound" as a half-madman with a talent for blasphemy. "If all the wrens were eagles, what of that? The wonder of the eagle were the less, but he not less the eagle." We are not yet all of the eagle brood, but we can at least faintly realise for ourselves the soaring passion of strength and freedom which impels him in ascending sunward circles; and we do not any longer despise his majesty, and hug ourselves for our own littleness.

Mrs. Browning, in her chief poem, "Aurora Leigh," speaks much and wisely of the poetic function, and in one place defines it as the reproduction of the spiritual image of the poet's mother-age, in such fashion that those who come after

> "May touch the impress with a reverent hand,
> And say, 'Behold the paps we all have sucked.'"

Tennyson has done this for the coming age, and for that in which he lives. In "The Princess," and in "Maud," as well as in "In Memoriam," he has dealt with the weightiest of our spiritual problems. Each age is special in its forms of thought. Intellectual fashion changes, as the fashion of dress and of speech changes, as even the type of countenance undergoes change with the varying years. There is a typical face of the Elizabethan period—of the Augustan period of letters—of the time of the third George. There is an equally distinct type of mind; and as we know the one through the painter, so we know the other through the poet. One might write the spiritual history of a country from its poets, and it is one of the final proofs of artistic greatness, and one of the final prophecies of lasting fame, that a poet should have given to his age such a picture of itself. The pictures of successive generations will of course be painted in varying styles, the style alone being, indeed, one of the elements of portraiture. That man is not a discerning reader who can learn nothing of the character of Cromwell's Ironsides from "Paradise Lost." The nobility, the grace, and the worth of the Puritan soul, are there depicted in immortal lines. To him who can read it, the true History of England is enshrined imperishably in the works of her poets. Chronicles of kingly lives—Plantagenet, Stuart, and Hanoverian—stories of political cabals and intrigues—narratives of Wars of the Roses, and wars in the Peninsula—all these supply but poor material for the genuine student of history, when compared with that furnished by our poets. They are but useful as the dry bones which form the framework for that living and breathing copy of past times which we owe to the most gracious of our fellows, the wisest and most charming of our teachers.

Fortunate as Tennyson has been in the nature and extent of his audience, and in the possession of a present fame and affection, he had, in common with most poets, an up-hill journey to

start with. He was not all at once listened to, and early in his career he encountered a good deal of adverse criticism. The ways of reviewers are mysterious, and a volume of an unusually entertaining nature might be got out of their earlier criticisms on men of genius. Up to the time of his first publication, Tennyson lived the outer life of an English young gentleman, under perhaps pleasanter auspices than common. He was born in 1809, in his father's vicarage, in the parish of Somerby in Lincolnshire. Lincoln is not the county of all others in England which one would choose to rear a poet in. Yet it had its poetic value too. The "long dun wolds" of "Oriana," and the "glooming flats," of the "Moated Grange" were there, and had a beauty and an attraction all their own. The very flatness of the landscape and its want of sustained interest threw the naturally inquisitive and curious spirit into closer communion with the details of nature—with birds, and insects, with the humbler flowers, and with the beauties of any tiny rivulet or blossoming hedgerow. The Lincolnshire wolds are not without their majesty. There is about them a sense of ocean-like vastness and of utter calmness and solitude which it was not unfit that the young poet should learn to love. To this day he evidently remembers those still scenes with a singular affection, and in his earlier poems there are plentiful traces of the influence they exerted upon him. They had, of course, their secondary as well as their immediate influence—an influence somewhat more difficult to trace, but not the less present in his work. It is not at all improbable that the weird description of that last great battle in the west which preluded the death of Arthur, would never have been written but for the poet's familiarity with the fens and wolds of Lincolnshire.

His father kept him under his wing for the earlier years of his life, and himself superintended his education. It is a positively unavoidable thing that a great poet's work should have many biographical touches in it. In some cases it is hard to separate them from that which surrounds them, and one might puzzle over Shakespeare, for instance, and waste many ingenious hours in fruitless speculation. But Tennyson gives us enough to show us that his youth was more than ordinarily blessed in the way of home affection. His father was a clergyman, and his mother was the daughter of a clergyman—the Rev. Stephen Fytche. He came of good blood on both sides, and is not the only man of his household whose name is known in the great world. His elder brother is also a poet, and it was to him that the fine verses beginning "You might have won the poet's name" were addressed. Mention is further made of him and of home in "In Memoriam," and there is one pathetic home scene lightly touched in "The Two Voices."

In due time the young poet left home and went to Cambridge, where he matriculated at Trinity, and spent his terms there, with some random jollity at times, as one learns now, and with a good deal of earnest study, and much pleasant communion with men afterwards great. He made a success there which did not augur altogether well for his future career as a poet. He came before the university world as the successful candidate for the prize annually offered for the best poem on a given subject. The writer of a university prize poem is rarely heard of afterwards to any great advantage in that line, and indeed that kind of success which induces our university authorities to bestow prizes seems to be pretty well identified with pompous failure in the public mind. There is a curious story current, to the effect that the prize fell to Tennyson's lot by a singular blunder, and that a mark which was only intended to express wonderment was taken to denote approval. Be that as it may, the prize poem on "Timbuctoo" is not without its poetic promise. It is crammed with faults—faults of construction and of diction and of taste. There is even a sort of burlesque extravagance about it, as though a man of great ability had written an imitation prize poem for the fun of the thing. But there are touches of genuine poetry in it—sparks of the true fire. The majestic city and the angel are somewhat crude in conception and working, and there is something

of a tumble towards the close of the poem, where the writer, descending from his poetic perch, explains the meaning of his vision, and gives a sort of *raison d'être* for his angel.

The poet began to do better work than this before long. In certain verses which are now suppressed, for some reason which is not readily discoverable from the poems themselves, there was genuine evidence of poetic vigour. The lines entitled "Supposed Confessions of a Sensitive Mind," have a power of expression which many older masters have sometimes failed to attain, and once or twice they rise to a simple grandeur of pathos which is very searching and fine. It is a matter for regret that the verses entitled "Hero and Leander" have not been republished. It was in the poems given to the world in 1830 that, when just of age, Tennyson first gave proof of the matter which lay within him. The little volume in which they appeared was called "Poems: chiefly Lyrical." It was not surprising that it should contain some crudities, and it was not unnatural that it should excite little notice. In some quarters it was read with great interest, and there were one or two people who were clear-sighted enough to see the real promise of future excellence that the small book conveyed. It contained one or two of the loveliest lyrics in the language. They have taken their place since then, and their beauty is on all hands acknowledged. But they were unobtrusive, and not at all calculated to take the ordinary reading world by storm. Their beauties were too delicate and subtle for rapid recognition, and so they took such humble place as they could, and were left to make their gradual way. The young poet, however, was wise, and was in no haste. He put not only artistic passion, but artistic polish into his work. Meantime he became a familiar figure in certain London circles. He and a well-blacked meerschaum were known in Fleet Street, and the "Cock" remembers him to this day, though the "plump head waiter" at that ancient hostel has ceased to "batten in the greasy gleam," and paces the gritty floors no longer. He was at this time a member of the Anonymous Club—afterwards the Sterling Club—and we have glimpses of him here and there, both in his own writings and in the mention of his contemporaries, which are very pleasant and satisfactory. To the Puritan mind the allusions in "Will Waterproof's Lyrical Monologue, made at the Cock," to "the tavern hours of mighty wits," and the yearning feeling of fellowship which goes after them, may be distressing. But the Puritan mind, as well as others of a more generous mould, may have reason to rejoice in the innocent freedom and *abandon* of the young soul who loved good fellowship and good fellows, and who mixed his early philosophy with so kindly a geniality. It is pleasant—sadly pleasant—to think of those old hours and of those who shared them—when so many of the keen and impulsive of those days are dead—when the tired hand has ceased from labour, and the worn heart rests. There were many great men in the circle in which Tennyson at that time moved. There were Allan Cunningham and Thomas Carlyle, William Ewart Gladstone and John Mill. Thackeray was young in those days, and so was Bulwer Lytton, and Richard Monckton Milnes was just coming to the fulness of his power. Benjamin Disraeli was a young man in wonderful waistcoats and leather trousers, and with locks which curled with more than Hyacinthine luxuriance. How far away it seems!

And they had their warm loves and their warm dislikings, and their high hopes and great ambitions; and they made friendships which lasted for life, and had quarrels which were healed, and in their several ways fulfilled their destinies. Tennyson's destiny, with which we are most intimately concerned just now, was to write, within the dozen years which succeeded that early publication in 1830, perhaps a dozen poems which will probably go as near being immortal as any literary work of the present century. The amount of work was not great, but its quality was indisputable. On the publication of the two volumes of 1842, Tennyson took his place amongst the English poets at once and for ever. "The Two

Voices," "The Miller's Daughter," "Locksley Hall," and some other of the poems here published, have found in all our hearts a home from which they cannot be dislodged. There was a majesty of diction in the "Morte d'Arthur," and a sweet simplicity in "The May Queen" which led captive most fancies. There is a Miltonic nobility in the march and rhythm of the one, and a homely pathos worthy of Wordsworth, in the other. Had Theocritus known our English fields and lived in these days, he might have written "Dora," a pastoral as severely simple and perfectly sweet as the book of Ruth. There was nothing startling in the two small books. They contained poems of that rare sort which at once take rank with the classics. They were assured of their place, and took it calmly, without fuss or ostentation. The reviewers, like other oracles, delivered somewhat misty judgments. Quaint old Quarles, in his "Enchiridion," takes occasion to remark that a man cannot well find his way who carries his head in his lanthorn. Some of the reviewers carried their heads—such as they were—in the lanthorn of their own conceit, and saw but dimly in consequence. But a poet appeals, not to this review or to that, but to the soul of such as can read and understand, and the reviews, although they falsely get the credit of killing a Keats now and again, never yet made or marred a reputation finally. The unpretending volume took its place, and grew steadily in favour.

Twice in the course of the present century a great man has made the memory of a comparatively unknown friend gracious, lovable, and lasting. These tributes to dead friendship are very beautiful. Milton elegises his Lycidas—otherwise long since forgotten. Shelley beautifies even the beautiful memory of Adonais. Carlyle translates John Sterling from oblivion, and sets him down in rest with the world's immortals. In like manner, but in a completer fashion than them all, Tennyson has perpetuated the memory of his friend Arthur Henry Hallam. It is for once a fine and equitable adjustment of fate that the mourner has raised his own best monument whilst he did but endeavour to build that of a dead friend. The self-erected memorial of Ozymandias crumbles and leaves nothing but a fragment and a name; but the lament of David over Jonathan lives through all these centuries. Sorrow was never so lovely as in the pages of "In Memoriam." Any analysis, criticism, or description of the work would be here impossible. It stands alone in literature. There are greater poems in the world, no doubt, but there is none like it. It is, by itself, a species.

It was published in 1850, eight years having elapsed since the issue of the poet's second volume, and was hailed as the greatest poem of late years. It spoke alike the universal hope and the frequent fear. The physician had probed his own wounds, and had healed them, and here were alike a diagnosis and a cure. It was so at least to many thousands of his countrymen and countrywomen. In some cases, indeed, it seemed a literal voice of answer to the unspoken longing of the heart. "Friend after friend departs," says the familiar old hymn; "who has not lost a friend?" There could not be many readers of poetry to whom the hopes and fears that kindle hope, which are with so tender a grace displayed in "In Memoriam," did not directly appeal. It has already taken its place among the precious volumes of the English classic poets. The book was published anonymously in the first instance, but the wonder with respect to its authorship did not last long.

In "The Princess," published in 1842, Tennyson has dealt in a peculiarly fanciful and delicate way with one of the chief questions of the time. About a new public movement there is sure to be a considerable element of humour. The camp-followers and sutlers of a social army on the move to a new position are generally a set with whom the leaders would prefer to dispense. It has happened that the great problem of the relative positions of the sexes has excited attention chiefly through its comic aspect, and that only two people of real eminence have discerned the

true nature of the conflict which must of necessity arise, and the end which must of necessity be attained. The verdict at which these two arrived was, in substance, identical. Since the one was a man and the other a woman, the similarity of the judgment is all the more valuable. The close of "The Princess," and of Mrs. Browning's "Aurora Leigh," indicate the only possible settlement for the new question of Woman's Rights. The form which Tennyson has chosen is almost that of a fairy tale, but a deep and earnest moral dwells below the tender playfulness of the form. Nature is stronger than theory or art. The theories of the Princess Ida, and the passionate devotion of Aurora Leigh to art, are alike but poor defences against the claims of nature. The poet is wiser than the satirist. He deals gentlier with a foible, and his shafts do not rankle. It is not an essential with him that a tonic should be bitter.

In "Maud" the poet deals with another of the great questions of the age, the large and awful problem of the utilities of war. He has chosen the dramatic form wisely here, for it is not well to dogmatise in a case of this kind. There is one thing alone for which (if for it alone) "Maud" deserves, and by which it secures, a lasting place in English poetry. It enshrines the most perfect love-song of the language, with one possible exception. It is not easy to give up the admiration which every reader of the English poets must have for Ben Jonson's exquisite lyric, "Drink to me only with thine eyes, and I will pledge with mine." It is not easy to say that anything is finer, that anything is more perfectly informed with delicacy and grace and passion. But why should it be necessary in order to express boundless admiration of a thing to pronounce it greater than everything else? Tennyson's lyric is perfect. One could not venture to wish a word unsaid, a line unwritten. With the lover the larkspur listens for his lady's approaching foot, and with him the lily grieves her tardy coming. Yet, with all its intensity of passion, it is so fairily delicate—so daintily pure! This is one of the characteristics of Tennyson's verse. As Coleridge says of Shakespeare, he has no virtuous vice, no nastiness made musical. The soul of his thought is as pure as the body of words in which he clothes it. The erotic fancy of one, at least, of our present poets has given him a sort of reputation for a power over the expression of passion, which he by no means pre-eminently possesses. There are verses scattered through the works of Tennyson which equal him in force, whilst in grace and delicacy they leave him immeasurably behind. Witness one of the verses in the lovely fragment entitled "Guinevere and Lancelot," and that passage—meteoric in its splendour—which describes the rising of the fountain of passion in "The Vision of Sin."

Next to "Maud," in date, came "The Idylls of the King." There is presumptive evidence in the prologue of the "Morte d'Arthur," that the poet had written much of his great epic at a far earlier date than that at which he first published it, and it seems probable that he destroyed or laid aside the greater part of it. According to that prologue, the poet, Everard Hall, "burnt his epic, his King Arthur, some twelve books." Tennyson seems, however, to have been troubled unaccountably with the arrangement of this work. Between the publication of the first volume and the last, went by a period of no less than eighteen years. In 1855, came the first four Idylls, and the "Gareth and Lynette" volume completed the work in 1873. With whatsoever quirks and lightness of fancy it may be interspersed, there can be no doubt that "Will Waterproof's Lyrical Monologue" often speaks in all seriousness for the poet himself. The fear of the tendency "to add and alter many times, till all be ripe and rotten," is evidently a fear of his own. The poet is his own unkindest critic, and is discontented with himself when all others are willing to believe him perfect. And, great as he is, he is not perfect in the faculty of construction. He is more troubled than most artists with that feeling which

the poet expresses when, of her fair fancies, she says, "He has shot them down; Phœbus Apollo, soul within my soul." His own fancies, and forms of expression seem to lose their gracefulness to him with that time, which for his readers only confirms their beauty. In the case of the Idylls he was strangely indeterminate. "Results, not processes," says Charles Reade, "are for the public eye;" but the poet has partially admitted us to the secret of his process in this instance. But we have the whole work now, and its perfect beauty and completeness make it more than worth waiting for. Professor Morley's interpretation of its meaning and purport is probably the accurate one. The allegory is more deeply veiled than common, and there are doubtless many readers who are quite content with the outer sense. The poet himself speaks of it as a tale

> "New-old, and shadowing Sense at war with Soul,
> Rather than that gray king, whose name, a ghost,
> Streams like a cloud, man-shaped, from mountain peak,
> And cleaves to cairn and cromlech still."

The immediate rendering of the allegory is that Arthur is the higher and more spiritual part of man—that the knights of the Table Round are the faculties which yield willing subjection to a pure conscience—that the uncultivated waste ravaged by the beast and overrun with wrong is that against which it is a man's duty in this world to fight, and is partly within and partly without; as all men find it. But there are deeper meanings than this mere outer surface of allegory—folds within folds of philosophy. Wisdom has not often worn a fairer dress.

In the year 1851, four years before the publication of the first volume of the "Idylls," William Wordsworth died, and Tennyson was made laureate as a thing of course, and the laurel was laid upon a head as worthy as that from which it had been taken by the hand of death. The royal approbation is believed to have been first secured by the poem entitled "The Miller's Daughter." The office of poet laureate had never before been held by two men in succession who have done such honour to literature as Wordsworth and Tennyson. If we except Dryden, Wordsworth's predecessors are scarcely to be mentioned as great poets. Southey was probably the ablest of the rest, and his "Thalaba" and "Roderick," along with other fluent outpourings of the kind, are fast seeking their own place. The laureateship cannot dignify such men as Wordsworth and Tennyson, but they dignify it, and do a service to literature by holding it.

In 1855 Oxford conferred upon the poet the degree of D.C.L. The sister university purchased the famous bust by Woolner, and gave it a place of honour in its library. In 1869 he was elected an honorary fellow of Cambridge.

In 1868, "Enoch Arden," "Sea Dreams," and a number of "experiments" appeared in one volume. They added little to the poet's reputation, but they sustained it. One of the experiments was a brief but splendid translation of Homer. The great Greek rendered into English in such a form would hold a higher place than ever in the affection of readers who are, as the great mass of readers always must be, unequal to the study of the original.

"The Northern Farmer" published in the same volume revealed the artist in an aspect altogether novel. Tennyson had not up to this time given any remarkable evidence of the power of humour. The story of "The Goose," which was one of his earliest efforts in that direction, was by no means remarkable; "Amphion" might have come from a hand immeasurably less great. These things were looked upon as the mere relaxations of a genius which had its more earnest bent in a far different direction. But "The Northern Farmer" displays a power of humorous portraiture which is positively Shakespearian. The man here presented is no mere reproduction of characteristics,

but as absolute a creation as poet or dramatist ever yet introduced us to. The humour is genial, rich, broad, and racy. It has too, that undercurrent of pathos, without which no humour seems really great. He is dying, this egotistic, fine old heathen, who in his way has spent a life of battle and of victory, and the final tragedy of all is near. He has fought his hard material fight with material things, and, according to his own dim light, has fought it manfully; and it is not altogether amiss in him that he boasts of himself a little. Rugged, boastful, ignorant, opinionated, yet not unlovable; honest, dutiful, valiant—the good old heathen! No portrait so striking, so true, or so profound was ever before presented in such a form. Things are grim with him just now, and he questions destiny. Ajax may possibly have defied the lightning in a more striking attitude, but the inward pathos and passion are in this old rustic Briton as deeply as in the Greek hero. He rebels at death, and at the changes that must come after him, yet he accepts it with grumblings, after the manner of his kind, and faces the inevitable in his own fine, dogged, unconquered way.

"The Northern Farmer: New Style" is not so great a picture, but people in pronouncing judgment forget that the poet had not so fine a type to deal with.

"Queen Mary" is the latest work Tennyson has given to the world. It is not in all respects worthy of his hand, and the general judgment will probably be given to the effect that the poet has somewhat erred in choosing the dramatic form. It is pretty certain that he works in that form under restrictions which he does not otherwise feel. His genius is essentially dramatic in its character, but he lacks constructiveness. The play contains many passages of great power and beauty, but it resembles rather a collection of noble dramatic fragments than a finished drama.

There are still a hundred things to speak of, if there were but space for the barest mention of them. "The Palace of Art," "The Vision of Sin," "The Dream of Fair Women," "The Lotus Eaters," all great and sweet; "Aylmer's Field," and "The Miller's Daughter." They have all a place in our hearts.

We may say of Tennyson that he has not written a line too much for his own fame or our unsurfeited delight. He has "uttered nothing base." True and pure, tender and sweet and wise, a fit leader of men and women, he has done his task well, and has not misused himself or us. He takes his place among the English poets, not so universal as a first, or so majestic as a second, or so richly luxuriant as a third, yet still a most worthy member of that high guild who have lived to lighten the load of life, to strengthen, to purify, and to ennoble their fellows; who have led us by gracious paths to places of restfulness and quiet breathing; who have made the richness of their treasure ours, and who have gained in return the love and reverence of mankind for ever.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

Walker & MacDonald, Ltd.
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John Everett Millais, R.A.

A QUARTER of a century ago, between Pre-Raphaelism and the then accepted form of art the battle raged. In those days a new school, which threatened to revolutionise the ways and thoughts of artists, had arisen. Nobody wrote about *Geist* then, and Mr. Matthew Arnold had not yet made "sweetness and light" a phrase of common property. But every man who claimed to have either, took a deep interest in the controversy, and read the letters of Mr. Ruskin to the *Times*. The dominant tone of the new school was one of defiance; and that tone was chiefly assumed by young and enthusiastic men, who found a very complete justification in the attitude assumed by their opponents. The modern art Sadducee, who in his peaceful dilettantism cared for none of these things, sneered and wondered, as his fellows have from of old sneered and wondered. "Strange there should such difference be 'twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee!" But a very genuine and valuable principle underlay the actions of both sides. The one set of disputants fought in favour of the reverential and conservative side of art, whilst the others battled for a free field for unadulterated nature, and glorified the great possibilities of truth. As is not unusual in such controversies, each side overshot the mark. The reverers of the old world of art were somewhat too obsequious in their following, while the scorners were somewhat too scornful. In their newly awakened zeal against the prim beauties of conventionalism, the new school rushed into and revelled in all the plainnesses, not to say the downright uglinesses, of pure nature. The *raison d'être* of the new school was not perhaps especially clear.

About the beginning of the present century, European art, with one or two brilliant individual exceptions, was certainly in a bad way. But long enough before the Pre-Raphaelites came into acknowledged existence, a reaction in favour of nature had taken place; and immediately before the time at which that school declared itself, the landscape-painters of England at least had left the impossible classical school, and had gone back to nature, content to sit at her feet and learn. Mr. Ruskin, the chief apostle and oracle of the new school, had scarcely an uphill battle to fight in favour of Turner. The more thoughtful and enlightened of English lovers of art were already turning to the works of that great master with delighted admiration, and only that residuum of ignorance which always crawls slowly after the clear flow of knowledge, needed the eloquent channel of Ruskin's "Modern Painters" to flow in. Extremes meet, and when that form of art arose which charmed the great and appreciative critic of Turner, it brought forth works that were in almost all respects the opposite of those which had first excited the enthusiasm of its champion and defender. The genius of Turner revelled in a sensuous love of colour, and even of beauty of form. The Pre-Raphaelites appeared chiefly to joy in the perfection of ugliness—in leathery saints and unlovable martyrs. Their Elysian Fields were less fair than Cockney Hampstead, their Arcadia was a place of harsh-cornered artistic idiosyncrasies. But the art-critic was none the less justified in his choice. At bottom, in their one permanent and essential foundation, Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites were one. They were alike in their passionately truthful adherence to nature. The great artistic

difference between them lay in this: the ripened genius of the elder master had learned that true art must always effect a combination of truth and beauty, had mastered the fact that to a great work of art truth and beauty are equally and alike essential, and that whilst perfect art is not to be reached without truth, it is just as certain that it cannot be attained without beauty. All forms of truth are not beautiful, and it is probable that the general assent of art-lovers will be extended to the proposition that there are many forms and aspects of nature which no true artist for pure art's sake would wish to paint. In its earlier days, in its passion for truth at any cost, the Pre-Raphaelite school sacrificed beauty. But by its patient and painstaking work, by its minuteness and photographic accuracy of detail, by its conscientious out-door studies, and by its fervid worship of nature, it did much service to English art. It is a good deal refined and softened at this time, and no longer makes proclamation of its distinguishing tenets in the old form. In the works of not a few eminent artists of this time, the spirits of the antique and the Pre-Raphaelite schools have kissed each other and are reconciled. It has come about that a direct and faithful reference to nature is the rule and not the exception among artists. Mere studio-work after that "antique" against which Mr. Ruskin's soul so strongly rebels, no longer "throws back Deucalion's flesh and blood to stone." The classical artist has become infected with the naturalness of the Pre-Raphaelite: the Pre-Raphaelite in turn has grown to the recognition of the truth that true art is not a mere copying of outward forms, but a realisation of the living and invisible spirit of nature.

If not first in the school which has done so much for English pictorial art, in the very first rank stands Mr. John Everett Millais, R.A. The claims of the especial form of art we have considered have been perhaps more prominently set before the general public by Mr. Holman Hunt than by any other painter. "The Light of the World," "The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple," and "The Shadow of Death" are probably the best-known pictures in existence to English people who are not professedly attached to art, or professedly learned with regard to Europe's artistic treasures. But Mr. Millais, while a far more fecund artist than his great companion of the school, has been known to the public chiefly by the works which have appeared on the walls of the Royal Academy; and whilst the subjects he has chosen have been less exalted, he has yet lived in an artistic atmosphere as serene and high. There are few capacities which earlier develop themselves than that for the imitation of form. Like the poet and the orator, the painter is born to his vocation, and no amount of training can supply an inherent defect of nature in the one case more than in the other. In the case of Mr. Millais the bent of genius declared itself at a very early age. He was born in Southampton, in the year 1829, of an old Jersey family—a family which settled in the island so early as 1331. In the Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane, there is still to be seen the Jersey *letente* or Royal Rentroll of that year, which contains an entry to the effect that Geoffray Milays owed to the crown ten sols for a bouvée of land held by him in the parish of Grouville. A certain Geoffray de Millay fought under William the Conqueror at Hastings. The name, like most old family names, has undergone a good many transformations in its spelling—from Millay to Millet, and thence through Milles and Milays to Millais. The young John Everett displayed his natural abilities at almost as early a date as those extraordinary young gentlemen so profusely cited by Sterne in "Tristram Shandy." The way in which his path in life was pointed out for him was very singular. He began to draw almost as soon as he could hold a pencil, and at the age of five years he drew so remarkably well, that people to whom his work was shown utterly declined to believe in it as the work of a child so young. Among the sceptics on one occasion were a number of French officers, who in the warmth of their repudiation of this impossibility

offered certain English officers, with whom they were disputing the matter, a bet of a dinner on the question. Master Millais was himself to decide the wager. He was brought forward and told to draw something. He did draw—and drew so well that the doubters instantly abandoned their position, and in due time paid for the lost dinner. The boy's natural proclivities were of course a good deal forwarded by the result of this trial, and in the year 1838 his native bent had so strongly declared itself that he was placed in the academy of Mr. Sass, a well-known tutor of the old school, under whom many of the best-known artists of the time had studied. From the care of Mr. Sass young Millais passed to that of Mr. Cope, now R.A., and under his tuition advanced rapidly until in 1837 he was admitted to study at the Royal Academy. Here he carried off the principal prizes for drawing, and here he and a little handful of friends created a good deal of consternation amongst the conservators of the classical modes of art.

Mr. Ruskin has very picturesquely and forcibly told the story of the insurrection of Millais and his companions against the accepted theories of the academical teachers. He writes: "Pupils in the same schools, receiving precisely the same instruction which for so long a time has paralysed every one of our painters, these boys agree in disliking to copy the antique studies set before them. They copy them as they are bid, and they copy them better than any one else; they carry off prize after prize, and yet they hate their work. At last they are admitted to study from the life: they find the life very different from the antique, and say so. Their teachers tell them the antique is the best, and they mustn't copy the life. They agree among themselves that they like the life, and that copy it they will. They do copy it faithfully, and their teachers declare them to be lost men. Their fellow-students hiss them whenever they enter the room. They cannot help it. They join hands and tacitly resist both the hissing and the instruction. Accidentally a few prints of the works of Giotto, a few casts from those of Ghiberti, fall into their hands, and they see in these something they never saw before, something intensely and everlastingly true. They examine further into this matter, they discover for themselves the greater part of what I have told you. They form themselves into a body, and enter upon that crusade which has hitherto been victorious, and which will be absolutely and permanently victorious." But Mr. Ruskin's relation of the story is scarcely accurate or complete. The statement "they carry off prize after prize" could only relate to Rossetti, Hunt, and Millais, whilst the fact was that the two former took no prizes, and that Millais took many. It is scarcely true either that Millais "hated the work" from the antique. But if he grew somewhat vexed and disheartened at the treatment he received at the hands of his instructors and of the academical authorities, it is little to be wondered at. It had always been the custom that a medal for drawing from the antique should admit the pupil to the life-school. With a most unaccountable unfairness, when this prize fell into the hands of young Millais the old rule was violated and set aside. The very thing which it might have been thought would have made them all the more willing to help and to receive him, was made to tell against his advance in art. He was so young that they declined to allow him to enter the life-school, and a new rule was passed to the effect that a special drawing should be made at a further competition before the successful student of the antique should pass on to study from the life. The true story of the Pre-Raphaelite "awakening" is this. Dr. Hue, a friend and a relative of young Millais, chanced to lend to the artist the book of engravings of the treasures of the Campo Santo. Hunt and Rossetti and he were close friends, and were filled with the same desires and ambitions. Over this wonderful book of engravings the three young artistic spirits pored and gloated. The book passed from one to the other—they studied it together—and it grew upon them wonderfully.

The one thing Millais specially noticed was that in the masterpieces here engraved there was no purposeless work, and he made his own reflections on that fact and used it in a manner which we shall endeavour to illustrate further on. In the meantime it will be seen that Millais and his companions, in establishing the new school, had anything but an easy time of it. The hisses with which they were greeted by their fellow-students represented in a more open and vulgar form the distaste and dislike with which they were received by the great majority both of artists and critics. Millais, who had gained his first medal at the Society of Arts when only nine years of age, continued in spite of opposition to grow both in artistic power and in the estimation of such as were not so conservative as to deny all merit to the works of the enthusiastic young students who had banded themselves together in the cause of what they held to be artistic truth. When only seventeen he found a picture of his accepted by the Royal Academy, and at this early age was acknowledged to have produced a work of very singular force and power. It was entitled "Pizarro Seizing the Inca of Peru," and though marked by certain boyish characteristics, and displaying an ambition which carried the young artist somewhat beyond his strength, was filled with rare promise. But it and its successors met with little kindliness or encouragement. The feeling with which the young champions of nature were regarded by their fellow-students was strong enough to infect most of the art-critics of the time. The companionship of some of the weaker members of the new body was also in some measure damaging to the reputation of the stronger. Even with the kindliest and most sympathetic feeling, there was enough to find fault with in the works of the ablest of these young men. The works of juvenile genius must necessarily lack that easy power which assures the student of a great masterpiece that its author has worked well within himself and that he has not strained for his effect. But they have for all that a certain power and freshness of their own which should, and generally does, draw forth a merciful verdict from the critics and the elders.

The young artistic company called itself the "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," and was a great deal laughed at for the title. The name was chosen by Rossetti. He it was who supplied the literary element in the little band, and who led his comrades on to the study of those among the poets whose work seemed most to harmonise with the principles of Pre-Raphaelite art. Much as they might be laughed at, their choice of the art-epoch to whose principles they desired to return was beyond doubt well and wisely made. The feeling of the enthusiastic and fervid members of the young school was very like that expressed by Robert Browning towards the lost leader. It seemed to them that Raphael with all his heavenly genius had debased his art. Their greatest and most eloquent champion has cited a time from which he dates the fall of European art. That time was when Raphael in the very middle of his career was called upon to decorate the Vatican for Pope Julius II., and when, having "until that time worked in the ancient and stern mediæval manner, he, on the very first chamber he decorated in that palace, wrote the *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin* of the arts of Christianity." The method of his crime (for the Pre-Raphaelites counted it no less) was this: "On one wall of that chamber he placed a picture of the world or kingdom of theology presided over by Christ, and on the other wall of that same chamber he placed the world or kingdom of poetry presided over by Apollo. And from that spot and from that hour," writes Mr. Ruskin with emphasis, "the intellect and the art of Italy date their destruction." The objection here will be seen to be mainly of a religious character. But it is argued, and not unreasonably or unfairly, that with that loss of religious fervour and that strict feeling of appropriateness which characterised mediæval work, came a great loss of moral purpose in art. In mediæval art truth

was first, and beauty second: in modern art truth came to be second, and beauty first. But it was in their refusal to recognise the fact that no unlovely presentment of truth, however faithful, is or can be art, that the Pre-Raphaelites in their earlier days failed. The failure lay not so much in Millais, Hunt, Rossetti, and Collins as in those less able men who were associated with them in the public mind, and who certainly perpetrated, to the disgrace of deserving comrades, one of the utterest uglinesses ever put upon canvas. Notwithstanding the storm of disapproval and even of personal malice which was to be encountered, Millais worked in his own way, and in 1847 he exhibited at the Royal Academy a work entitled "Dunstan's Emissaries Seizing Queen Elgiva." He also in the same year painted a colossal cartoon for the Westminster Hall competition, under the title of "The Widow's Mite." In the following year he exhibited "The Tribe of Benjamin Seizing the Daughters of Shiloh," and in 1849 he illustrated that story of "The Pot of Basil" from Boccaccio of which Keats has given so exquisitely pathetic a relation, that his name is as enduringly associated with it as is that of its original narrator. This work illustrates at once in a very forcible way the literary influence of Rossetti and the art-influence of that old book of engravings from the Campo Santo pictures. It was Rossetti, as we have already indicated, who first introduced to Millais the lovely open-air poems of Keats; and it was the artist's own reverential and absorbed study of the works of the elder masters which induced the singularly dramatic treatment of the theme. It was here that he distinctively adopted for the first time the purely dramatic method. No figure in this work is introduced for the sake of mere pictorial effect, taking the expression in its common and lower sense. Isabel, the hapless heroine of Boccaccio's tearful story, is seated in the centre of the group. She caresses a hound, but one of her evil brothers, who sits there cracking nuts, slily galls the animal with his foot. Young Lorenzo bends over Isabel with a gift of flowers. The second brother, whilst pretending to examine the colour of his wine, looks sharply and suspiciously past the glass at the presumptuous lover. The nurse, who knows the love-story, stands by and reads suspicion in the brother's watchful glance. All this is very admirable, and real and poetical in conception. The gentle nature which must perforce be tender even to a dog, the carelessly brutal nature which must perforce be cruel, the cautious and worldly watchfulness which cannot sleep even in the genial after-dinner hour, are all completely illustrated. The work is instinct with life, and is full of thought and vigour. In the year 1850 the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood made an attempt to secure the attention of the artistic public to their special claims, by the publication of a little magazine entitled "The Germ: being Thoughts towards Nature in Literature, Poetry, and Art." It had but a very brief career indeed, and though many excellent things are to be found within its pages, it is full of those crudities which naturally and excusably disfigure the art-work of youth. Its direct aim is nowhere made distinctly manifest, and it consists chiefly of verse, some of which is very remarkable for its sweetness, whilst none, or almost none, of it can be said to be thoroughly finished. The nebulous little periodical died after the issue of its fourth number. An attempt would appear to have been made to revive it, for it is extant under two separate titles in the library of the British Museum, the second title being "Art and Poetry." In this case the sub-title is only partially repeated, and reads, "Being Thoughts towards Nature." Each number is accompanied by an etching, one from the hand of Holman Hunt being full of power and pathos, and another from the needle of Deverell being full of the worst characteristics of the school, the composition and details alike being affected, pedantic, unattractive, and full of corners. An etching by Millais was sent, but in consequence of the early death of the magazine was never used. This was the time at which the battle really began. The tendency towards what is now known as Pre-Raphaelism had already declared itself in the works of the young artist, but they now became

more clearly and definitely pronounced. In the new fervour of the restoration, the religious feeling of which has already been pointed out, Millais executed, in the year 1850, a mystical picture of our Saviour, a work full of painstaking and eager effort, but made unlovely to the general eye by its faithfulness to the monastic models of Pre-Raphaelite days. But while Millais shared to the full all the unpleasantnesses of that tempest of disapproval which the Brotherhood and its works excited, a new hope dawned for him and his comrades in the rapturous recognition they received from an Oxford Undergraduate who, in a series of eloquent and striking letters to the *Times*, defended their choice and praised their labours. Whosoever the Oxford Undergraduate who signed himself "J. R." might be, it was evident that he was thoroughly master of the subject on which he wrote, that he had deeply and reverently studied, and that he had a very singular command of, the purest, the most delicate, and the most nervous English. But it was unfortunate that the champion had his spurs still to win, and it was natural that the defender should be regarded with pretty much the same kind of suspicion as the defended. If he was undeniably eloquent, they were undeniably clever, and for the rest they were tarred with the same brush. But for all that Ruskin's advocacy converted many, and made Pre-Raphaelism a much pleasanter form of art to follow than it could otherwise possibly have been. Largely encouraged by this advocacy, Millais went on in the pursuit of his own ideal, and his work year by year displayed a marked improvement. In 1850, in addition to his representation of the Saviour he painted "Ferdinand Lured by Ariel." In the following year he produced "Mariana in the Moated Grange" and "The Woodman's Daughter." The year 1852 witnessed the production of "The Huguenot" and "Ophelia," two noble pictures which had probably no slight weight in bringing about his election as an Associate of the Royal Academy, which took place in 1853. In that year he exhibited "The Order of Release" and "The Proscribed Royalist." In 1855 he gave more attention to landscape than he had hitherto devoted to it, and one of his Academy pictures of the following year bore the title "Autumn Leaves." During the time of the landscape studies he was not idle in the field in which he had first won his laurels. In 1855 his contribution to the Academy was "The Rescue," one of the gems of its year; with "Autumn Leaves," in the same exhibition, appeared "Peace Concluded" and "L'Enfant du Régiment." In 1857 appeared "Sir Isumbrus at the Ford," and in the following year "The Heretic." Two years later the newer love of landscape again came into play, as was evident by the production of "The Vale of Rest" and "Spring Flowers." In 1861 one of the most widely admired and the most popular of his pictures graced the Academy walls—"The Black Brunswicker." In 1863 the artist was represented by "My First Sermon," and in the following year by "My Second Sermon" and "Charlie is my Darling." From the lighter subjects of this year, he returned in that which followed to the sterner and grander style in which his first works were conceived and executed, and sent from his easel "Joan of Arc" and "The Romans leaving Britain." In 1867 he exhibited three pictures respectively called "Waking," "Sleeping," and "Jephthah."

In 1863, Mr. Millais had at last scaled the heights of prejudice and had taken success by storm. His merits could no longer be denied, and the very Academy whose teaching he had set at naught, and whose system of art he had abjured, confessed its conviction of the reality of his powers and the unswerving honesty of his pursuit of art, by conferring upon him the position of Royal Academician. In the school he had so ably and so industriously represented this was a great triumph, but for those outside its interests it was by no means so pleasant. There were many who thought that Mr. Frost, who was a far older Associate of the Academy, had been somewhat hardly dealt with in being passed over in favour of Mr. Millais. But the last charge in the world to be brought against the governing body of the Academy

would be one of favouritism towards an acknowledged leader in the ranks of Pre-Raphaelism. Indeed both the Academy and the press for a long time very persistently snubbed the new school and its adherents, and the glee with which in one or two literary quarters the news of Mr. Millais' slip in the picture "The Blind Girl" was received will be still remembered. In that work the pathos of the girl's blindness was illustrated and heightened by the delight with which a child beside her looked upon a rainbow. Mr. Millais had represented both the rainbow and its shadowy duplicate, and it was in the painting of the reflex bow that the mistake was made. Instead of reversing the order of the colours, the artist had represented them in the same progression, and over this the opposing cliques made very merry indeed. The chief claim of the Pre-Raphaelite school being for perfect truth and for actual work from nature, this pardonable solecism was magnified into one of the deadly sins of art, and furnished much matter for the opposing Philistines. Through evil repute and good repute the greatest of art-critics abode by the school of his choice, and in one instance even ventured to proclaim that he questioned whether even the greatest men of old time possessed more exhaustless invention than either Millais or Rossetti. A still bolder dictum was eagerly laid hold of and indignantly contradicted by the *Art Journal*. Mr. Ruskin had expressed his conviction that since Turner's death any one picture by Hunt, Millais, or Rossetti was worth any three works by any other living artist. "This," said the *Art Journal*, with perhaps unnecessary vehemence, "is mere insanity," and even went on to doubt whether Mr. Ruskin held the belief at all.

From the time of his promotion to the rank of Royal Academician, Mr. Millais has devoted himself alternately to landscape and to historic painting. Latterly he has painted several portraits which have attracted much attention, and have indeed for several years past furnished some of the chief centres of interest at the annual exhibition at Burlington House. Amongst the eminent people who have sat to Mr. Millais have been Mr. Fowler, the engineer of the Metropolitan Railway; Mr. Grote, the historian; Sir James Paget (painted for St. Bartholomew's Hospital), and Sir Sterndale Bennett. In his dealing with English ladies Mr. Millais is very charming. His portraits of the three Miss Armstrongs, in the well-known picture "Whist with a Dummy," form one of the best illustrations of his power in that direction. In 1871 his landscape "Chill October" was one of the most noteworthy works of its year, and its success sent the artist into Scotland in the following autumn, to study scenery on the banks of the Tay. Those studies resulted in the production of two fine pictures, "Flowing to the Sea" and "Flowing to the River." Mr. Millais now makes a regular yearly journey for artistic purposes to Scotland, and his "Winter Fuel" and "Scotch Firs" in the Academy Exhibition of 1874 gave evidence of the most careful study and the most delicate appreciation of outdoor nature.

A curious illustration of the practical influences occasionally exerted by art was afforded by one of Mr. Millais' best-known pictures. Most of his admirers will remember his famous work, "The North-West Passage." In that work an old sailor is represented as poring over a map and speculating on the possibilities of a north-west passage; he is supposed to exclaim, "It can be done, and England ought to do it!" At the time at which this work was executed there was no intention anywhere in favour of the fitting out of another Arctic expedition; but from the date of the picture's exhibition a feeling strongly in favour of such a course began to grow. Captain Nares has confessed to the strong influence which the work had upon himself, and there can be little doubt that *Punch's* imitation of the work—in which Mr. Disraeli was represented as the old sailor—did much to popularise the effect.

There has been a good deal of rather invidious talk lately with respect to the English and Continental schools of landscape painting, and the general impression appears to have been that Mr. Millais, accepted as a representative painter, has chosen his themes on too mean and low a ground, and there has been much said about this alleged failing in respect to "The Fringe of the Moor," his chief landscape painting in the Academy Exhibition of 1875. But, as a matter of fact, the greatest among Continental landscape artists have been those who have apparently been most easily satisfied with a subject. A hut, an overhanging tree, a piping shepherd, a random distance satisfied Hobbima; a flat expanse of land and water, a willow or two, and a cow or two furnished sufficient materials for a picture in the hands of Cuyp. Mr. Millais has chosen his landscape subjects with equal simplicity and humbleness, and on that very account his work is all the more gracious and acceptable to those who can really enter into its spirit.

As a colourist Mr. Millais is great. His drawing is still somewhat archaic and severe, and his figures and landscapes are alike rendered with an almost unreal sharpness of outline and prominence of detail. But the beauty and truth of his colour make amends for much, and howsoever the artistic student may dissent from the result of the principles on which he works, it is not easy to dissent from the principles themselves. They include—briefly—the persistent, faithful, and painstaking attempt to reproduce nature. They own no guide but nature and truth, and they proclaim nature always beautiful when lovingly considered and wisely understood. They include none of the "irreverent haste or busy idleness" of the dilettante; they proclaim art as a creature holy to the nobler instincts and passions of men. They aim at the reproduction and the perpetuation only of that which is true, and only of that which is noble as well as true.

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A. P. Stanley.

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The Dean of Westminster.

To trace the influence exerted by such a man as Dean Stanley is not an easy matter. It is not so much that Dean Stanley has taught new truth, or even that he has taught old truths newly. Even in those speeches or writings in which it is impossible to lay a finger upon any phrase or form of expression which in itself denotes an especial width of charity, there is an influence of freedom—a sense of honesty, of outspokenness, and of candour—which is in itself invigorating and provocative of its own likeness. The school in which Dean Stanley was reared was precisely that from which we might have expected such a man. Born in 1815, the son of the Bishop of Norwich was ushered at the very outset of life into a free atmosphere. His father was a man of much learning, piety, and earnestness. His detractors—and he no more than other good men escaped detraction—regarded him as an eccentric; but Dean Stanley has vindicated him in a fashion so tender, so graceful, and so convincing, that the good old Bishop's memory is sweeter and greener now than is possibly the case with some other memories which merit preservation even more. Much as Arthur Penrhyn Stanley owed to the piety, the learning, and the Christian zeal of his father, he came to owe more to the strong influences brought to bear upon his life by Dr. Arnold, the famous head master of Rugby School. The position occupied by Dr. Arnold is still altogether unique. He is regarded by all who remember him with a respect and affection which border on veneration. He introduced altogether a new pedagogic ideal. He saw, and was almost the first who saw clearly, the tremendous responsibilities which belonged to his place, and the almost unspeakable powers with which the possession of his office gifted him. The influence he brought to bear upon English life cannot be estimated. He sent forth into the world hundreds of young men, hale alike in mind and in body, endowed with pure and lofty hopes, inspired by a wide and genial Christianity, and fortified by the loving contact of years with so upright and generous a master. Each of those men became the centre of a new civilising and Christianising influence, bearing everywhere the seeds of faith and of charity, and sowing them with a liberal hand. It would be too much to say that all Dr. Arnold's pupils realised his hopes. No human work is perfect; and the great schoolmaster's hopes were large. But it is not too much to say that he conferred upon his country an incalculable benefit, or that in very many cases, wide as his hope and aim might be, they were amply realised. In the person of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley they have been probably best fulfilled. Dr. Arnold's mantle fell on many. The influence he exerted was brought to bear upon those who were most susceptible to it, and was continued, in most instances, long enough to be pretty sure of lasting effect. In no case does his whole character so completely appear to have formed itself anew as in that of Dean Stanley. Arnold's spirit has permeated his life, and has tended probably more than any other influence to make him what he is. Even when the relations of pupil and master were over, when the young scholar had left

Rugby for Oxford, and had worked his way there to a Fellowship, and to yet higher honours, a very complete and tender friendship was continued between them; and when the great man died, his old pupil, then Dr. Stanley, first became known to the literary world, by his "Life of Dr. Arnold."

Stanley's career at Oxford was a continued and brilliant success. He began by winning a scholarship at Baliol, and shortly afterwards he took the Newdigate prize with an English poem called "The Gipsies." He gained the Ireland scholarship, and in 1837 he took a first class in classics. Two years afterwards he gained the Latin prize, and one year later carried off the theological prize, and the prize for the English essay. In that same year—1840—he was elected a Fellow of University College. For the space of twelve years he was a tutor in his college, and during that time he acquitted himself much after the fashion of his old master, labouring not merely to impart to those under his care a knowledge of the humanities, but to develop and encourage among them a spirit of manly Christianity, which has since those days borne fruit, not only in many a country rectory, but in other places where manliness and Christianity are no less needed—in barrack and in camp—in the pleader's room—wherever the liberal professions have carried the men he taught.

In 1845-46 he was Select Preacher to the University, and by the sermons he then delivered he became known for a very remarkable width of doctrine and of sympathy. It was not to be expected that in a body like the Church of England the sermons of the young divine should be received with universal favour. There were many to whom his utterances were naturally distasteful. Trained in an older school, they viewed with a very natural fear the fact of a heterodox preacher within the university walls. The learning and the brilliancy of the preacher were in their minds only the gilding of a snare, and there were numbers who looked on him with apprehension and dismay. But to many of those to whom he preached his doctrine presented itself in a far different manner. That knowledge of truth which had satisfied their fathers had for them grown too small: this seemed exactly that which they needed. But it was natural enough that to many good men the very width of the preacher's creed should seem to imply slackness of faith.

In 1850-52 he was secretary of the Oxford University Commission, and whilst still holding this office was made Canon of Canterbury. That high post he continued to hold until 1858. He made it memorable, not only by his labours as canon, but by an admirable work on the archæology of the city with which he was associated. And now came about another personal association which is happily still continued, and which was, and still is, productive of much good. Dr. Arnold died in 1842. To him succeeded Dr. Tait, who continued his work in the same broad and noble spirit. After eight years' service Dr. Tait became Dean of Carlisle, and in the year 1856 he succeeded Dr. Blomfield as Bishop of London. Some time afterwards Dr. Stanley joined the successor of his old master, and became his chaplain. For several years he continued to exercise the duties thus imposed upon him, and at the end of that time he was elevated to his present position of Dean of Westminster. To speak honestly, there can be little doubt that he would not for so many years have remained in this position had it not been for the fact that his opinions have presented themselves as a bar to his further promotion in the Church. *The Church and State Review* has condemned him in strong terms. It has spoken of some of his works as "beneath review," and has remarked of his "Lectures on the Jewish Church"—"Divinity it has none: the practical application is the feeblest and most superficial we ever read." The spirit which dictated such a criticism as this has, however, been

far from general, but the path which Dean Stanley has chosen for himself is one which only a man of much enthusiasm could have conceived and followed. All societies are exclusive in their tendencies, and the Church has not escaped the general fault. Indeed of all societies it has become one of the most exclusive, and even in this age there are men of whom "douce Davie Deans" is but an exaggerated type. The opinions even of such people as these a man of Dean Stanley's mould could not afford to despise. To be able, with clean heart, to despise the opinions of even a section of one's opponents is a great aid to a man whose path in life is straightly marked, and who must necessarily differ from many. But the essential aim of Dean Stanley's Churchmanship is to conciliate. His one business in life is so to blend opposing forces that they may work to the same end. You can gain over no man by despising him. The Christian battle must be fought with other weapons; and in his own fashion Dean Stanley has fought it manfully. In one of his aspects Dean Stanley is very remarkable. He is the one man in the Church of England who without overmuch frightening the Church has held out the hand of welcome to Dissent. There are many within the Church whom he has frightened, but on the whole his fellows have grown by this time contented with his position, and are no longer made either angry or afraid by his efforts after a closer communion with other Churches.

There was, however, one matter in connection with which he very sincerely alarmed a great many of his fellow-Churchmen. In the year 1869 Dr. Colenso issued his volume on the Pentateuch. We have already in the life of the Archbishop of Canterbury, published earlier in this series, spoken of the dismay which this work excited in theological circles. Dr. Colenso's preface dealt so gravely with the subject matter of the book itself that some people attached almost as much importance to its utterances as the author himself ascribed to them. Amongst the very few clergymen who were not afraid of Dr. Colenso's work and its effect was Dean Stanley. He even went so far as to invite the bishop to preach in Westminster Abbey at a time when the controversial storm had not altogether abated. This action called forth a good deal of criticism, and one pamphlet, entitled "A Letter of Remonstrance to the Dean of Westminster on his Recent Invitation to Dr. Colenso to Preach in Westminster Abbey," contained much bitter matter. It seems to have had a considerable circulation, but drew forth no answer from the Dean. In that respect, indeed, Dean Stanley has known the wisdom of silence all his life long.

It is undoubtedly in his literary aspect that Dean Stanley has made the greatest impression upon the people of his time. He has been a very industrious workman, and has issued many volumes remarkable alike for their learning, their beauty, and their originality. From the first he was successful in literary enterprise. The *Quarterly Review* spoke of his earliest work, "The Life of Arnold," in these enthusiastic terms: "This masterly work of Canon Stanley's was based on a personal knowledge, gained first as a pupil and subsequently as a loving and life-long friend. It gives the very form and pressure of the man, and reveals the inner thoughts and workings of his soul. This text book at Rugby will ever rank with the masterpiece of Boswell, which it rivals in photographic portraiture and surpasses in elevation of tone." The "Life of Arnold" was followed in 1846 by "Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Ages;" in 1850 by the Memoir of his father, of which we have already spoken; in 1854, by "The Epistles to the Corinthians" and "Historical Memorials of Canterbury." In his edition of the Epistles to the Corinthians Dean Stanley points out five kinds of error which exist in the received version, and which he has rectified in his own. His emendations are: "1st. Such as are produced by a

restoration of the text of the ancient MSS. 2nd. Such as are produced by a better system of punctuation. 3rd. Such as are produced by transposing the words into a nearer conformity with the original order. 4th. Such as are produced by bringing out the emphasis of words, apparent in the original text, either from the use of the pronoun or from the place of the words in the sentence, 5th. Such as are produced by inaccuracy of translation." He gives instances of the corrections he has made of mistakes arising out of all the five sources of error enumerated above. There are some singularities of translation in Corinthians which are quite peculiar to that portion of the English version of the Scriptures. "Why," asks a learned and eloquent writer, dealing with this question shortly after the publication of Dean Stanley's emendations, "why is *ἀγάπη love* throughout the whole of the New Testament, except in 1 Corinthians xiii. 14, when the translators, lighting upon an eloquent passage, were struck with the ambition of using a fine word, and converted *love* into *charity*—a term only intelligible to the classical theologian who knows that *love* is a fruit of *grace*, and that *grace* is English for *χαρις*; that *χαρις* is the etymological root of charity; and that, therefore, *charity* may be used as a synonyme for *love*—why is *ἀδόκιμος* ordinarily rendered *reprobate*, and on one occasion (1. Cor. ix. 27) *cast-away*?" Of that very passage Dr. Longley remarked in a note in his work on Apostolic Preaching, "This is one of the many passages which have suffered from the general bias of the ages in which our translation was made." Dean Stanley's emendations are regarded as being of great value, though they are confessedly only steps towards a completer reading.

In 1855 he published one of the most important of his works under the title "Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History." His tour of Sinai and Palestine was made in the winter and spring of 1852-53, but his work has very little of the character of a personal narrative. On certain occasions, when any necessity appears to exist for doing so, he enters fully into the result of his own personal examination of the various localities he describes, but in general his book is rather the work of a thoughtful and accomplished scholar condensing into a careful summary the result of the observation and the learning of others than a detailed account of what he himself has seen. It is partly a description of the present condition of the well-known scenes of the sacred narrative in Arabia, Palestine, and Syria, partly an essay on their historic associations, compiled, or at least meditated, upon the spot by a man already familiar with all that had been written on those countries by the innumerable travellers and scholars who had gone before him. There are few books of travel which present such evidence of extensive erudition and accurate knowledge, and few if any which unite so happily great reading with solid judgment, which turn the learning of others so liberally to account without the least compromise of their freedom of thought. He has gathered his stores of information out of every writer, from Bochart or Quaresmius down to Laborde, Ritter, and Robinson. He has satisfactorily solved many of the difficulties which the patient and learned Ritter left behind him as to the topography of Palestine. But he is not by any means an antiquarian only adjusting disputed measurements and deciding disputed localities. The great charm of the book for the thoughtful student is, that without neglecting these considerations it passes above them. Whilst he is fully alive to the importance of bringing out the agreement between the history of the Bible and the geography and natural scenery of the lands of the Bible, he deals with these questions not as a polemic, but as a man full of his own convictions, and speaking apparently more for the purpose of venting his own fulness of belief than with the intention of convincing others. In point of fact, he refuses to dogmatise as many of his predecessors have done. The very variety and extent of his learning may perhaps have acted

as an embarrassment to him here. Thus, for example, he will not decide whether the point of departure of the Israelites in their passage over the Red Sea is to be fixed at Suez or at the mouth of the Wady Tuârih. He will not settle whether the waters of Marah be at Hawarah, or at Ghurendel, or at a third unexplored site near Tih el-'Almâra. The circumstantial truthfulness of the Scripture is sometimes very charmingly illustrated, as in the following passages:—The Parable of the Sower, which was spoken on the border of the Lake Gennesareth, seemed to him at first sight to be signally inappropriate to the scenery of the place. "The thought," he goes on to say, "had scarcely occurred to me when a slight recess on the hill-side close upon the plain disclosed at once in detail, and with a conjunction which I remember nowhere else in Palestine, every feature of the great parable. There was the undulating corn-field descending to the water's edge. There was the trodden pathway running through the midst of it with no fence or hedge to prevent the seed from falling here and there on either side of it or upon it, itself hard with the constant tramp of horse and mule and human feet. There was the 'good' rich soil which distinguishes the whole of that place and its neighbourhood from the bare hills elsewhere descending into the lake, and which, where there is no interruption, produces one vast mass of corn. There was the rocky ground of the hill-side protruding here and there through the corn-fields, or elsewhere through the grassy slopes. There were the large bushes of thorn (the *nabk*)—that kind of which tradition says that the crown of thorns was woven—springing up, like the fruit-trees of the more inward parts, in the very midst of the moving wheat." The reader will find much of this pleasing illustration of the Gospel and its teaching brought out with a degree of minuteness and beauty which will probably remind him of the best passages of Trench's "Parables."

On the 31st of January, 1875, the Sunday following the burial of Charles Kingsley at Eversley, the Dean of Westminster preached a sermon in Westminster Abbey, in which he dealt, with a singular delicacy and beauty of criticism, with the life and work of his departed friend. Between Canon Kingsley and Dean Stanley there was, in many respects, a strong likeness, which increased the value and exactness of this criticism. One passage of this sermon is worth extraction here, as containing perhaps the most admirable description of Canon Kingsley's habits and character which has been given to the world:—"I have hitherto spoken of our lost friend in his natural God-given genius, not in his professional or pastoral functions. He was what he was, not by virtue of his office, but by virtue of what God had made him in himself. He was, one might almost say, a layman in the guise or disguise, and sometimes hardly in the guise, of a clergyman—fishing with the fishermen, hunting with the huntsmen; able to hold his own in tent and camp, with courtier and with soldier; an example that a genial companion may be a Christian gentleman—that a Christian clergyman need not be of a separate caste, and a stranger to the common interests of his countrymen. Yet, human, genial layman as he was, he still was not the less, nay, he was ten times more, a pastor than he would have been had he shut himself out from the walks and haunts of men. He was sent by Providence as it were 'afar off to the Gentiles'—far off, not to other lands or other races of mankind, but far off from the usual sphere of the minister or priest, 'to fresh woods and pastures new,' to find fresh worlds of thought and wild traits of character, in which he found a response to himself because he gave a response to them. Witness the unknown friends that from far and near sought the wise guidance of the unknown counsellor, who declared to them the unknown God after whom they were seeking, if haply they might find him. Witness the tears of the rough peasants of Hampshire, as they crowded round the open grave, to look for the last time on the

friend of thirty years, with whom were mingled the passing hunter in his red coat, and the wild gipsy wanderers, mourning for the face that they should no more see in forest or on heath. Witness the grief which fills the old cathedral town of my own native county, and of the native county of his ancestors beside the sands of his own Dee, for the recollection of the energy with which he there gathered the youth of Chester round him for teachings of science or religion. Witness the grief which has overcast this venerable church, which in two short years he had made his own, and in which all felt that he had found a place worthy of himself, and that in him the place had found an occupant worthy to fill it." This passage is, both with regard to thought and language, in Dean Stanley's best style. If, in the matter of delivery, the Dean of Westminster were only on a level with himself in the art of expression, England would have few orators to equal him. His language is always pure, melodious, and nervous. He gives his opinions full vent, and is not afraid of his convictions. He has all the requisites for oratory except the manner of speech—and in that respect he is not impressive. His faculty of expression is always as much oratorical as literary in its form, and abounds with that kind of fervour and fulness of feeling with which we are commonly accustomed to associate the speaker rather than the writer.

In 1872 Dean Stanley published a series of lectures on "The History of the Church of Scotland." To the volume in which they appeared was prefixed a sermon preached in the Old Grey Friars' Church, Edinburgh, at the invitation of Dr. Wallace, minister of the parish, on the 7th of January, 1872. With a certain purposed quaintness, he entitled his sermon, "The Eleventh Commandment." The discourse is filled with lofty aspirations for the unity of all Christian Churches, and is based upon the text, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another." The body of the work thus prefaced is rich with beauties. It does not profess to give anything like a complete account of the history of the Scottish Church, and the writer has abstained on principle from entering into the details of the several controversies in which the Church has at different times been involved. But the book is thickly strewn with the treasures of mediæval lore, and contains passages of rare eloquence and discrimination. There were some matters in the lectures to which Dr. Rainy, of Edinburgh, took exception, and that gentleman delivered a series of lectures in reply to them. The reader who wishes to obtain an account of this ecclesiastical tournament may find it in the *British Quarterly Review*, where the merits of the respective lectures, the stand-points of the lecturers, and the general bearings of the question are discussed and described with much candour and ability.

The most important work which Dean Stanley has so far given to the world is that which opens with the well-known volumes of "Lectures on the Jewish Church." At the time of writing, the concluding part of this enterprise is said to be in the press. So far, however, the writer has dealt only with the history of the Jewish and Eastern Churches. In his handling of these subjects he has displayed an extraordinary learning, and an extraordinary width of sympathy. He has not hesitated to point out those singular coincidences of thought which occur alike to the Christian and to the Mohammedan theologian. Wheresoever he has found a fragment of faith, of tradition, or even of fable which has seemed to him likely to throw light upon the history of the growth of that great principle which was first confided to the care of the Jewish people, he has pressed it into his service.

It is this spirit of width and of charity which has made his teaching so acceptable to the vast majority of the people amongst whom he has laboured. The day has gone by when any merely sectarian utterances can take a deep and lasting hold upon the feelings of the

English people. Dean Stanley has been among the first to recognise this fact and to profit by it. For it is assuredly in these days a profit that a man holding a high position in the Church of England should be able to appeal by speech or by writing not only to the members of that Church, but that all such a man says and does should come intimately home to thousands who are outside his recognised communion, but who are yet after all one with him in faith and in hope. No greater proof of this breadth of sympathy could be found than is afforded by the fact that he has, by public invitation, taken the leading part in the open inauguration of the statues erected to the memories of Richard Baxter and John Bunyan. In whatever form the central hope which animates all Christian people may gain expression, the Dean of Westminster can find—and has actively shown that he has found—a heartfelt sympathy for it.

On the eight hundredth anniversary of the dedication of the Abbey of Westminster, Dean Stanley's colleagues in the Chapter expressed a desire that he would illustrate its history by memorials similar to those he had already published in connection with Canterbury Cathedral. In Dean Stanley's mind the interest of the Abbey depended "upon the connection of the different parts with the whole, and of the whole with the general history of England." These historical memorials are, therefore, in fact, the history of England in Westminster Abbey. The work was surrounded with many difficulties. In order to accomplish it, the Dean remarks that he was compelled on the one hand to observe as far as possible a chronological arrangement, which necessarily followed the course of the topography; whilst, on the other hand, the lines of interest were so various and divergent, that to blend them in one indiscriminate series would have confused relations which could only be made perspicuous by being kept distinct. At the cost, therefore, of some repetition, and even of some misplacement, he deemed it best to treat each of his subjects by itself, though arranging them in the sequence which was engendered by the historical order of the events. The history of Westminster School, which opened a larger field than could be conveniently included within the limits of the work, is noticed only so far as was necessary to give a general survey of the destination of the whole of the conventual buildings, and to form a united representation of the whole collegiate body during some of the most eventful periods of its annals. On the publication of the first edition it was urged that the arrangement of the book would have been improved had it followed the history in chronological sequence. The author, however, was convinced that although there would have been some advantages in this course, the plan he had followed was indispensable. The defect complained of was supplied by the addition of a chronological Table of Events. The first two editions were not illustrated, but a number of valuable and interesting drawings accompany the third edition, published in 1869. The whole work is executed with thorough conscientiousness, although, at the time at which it was written, Dean Stanley was heavily pressed by other claims upon his time and attention. The original sources of his information—many of which were inaccessible to former investigators—were very numerous, and were all most painstakingly explored. The result is a volume compendious, exact, and lucid. Its arrangement is as nearly perfect as may be, and a most workmanlike index, together with the chronological Table of Events already mentioned, makes it easy of reference.

On the 31st of March, 1875, the Dean of Westminster delivered the inaugural address on the occasion of his installation as Rector of the University of St. Andrews. He has written and published much. Amongst those of his works not yet mentioned may be named, "The Three Irish Churches;" "The Bible in the Holy Land;" "Sermons Preached in the East," with notices

of some of the localities visited; "Three Introductory Lectures on the Study of Ecclesiastical History;" "Sermons on the Unity of the Evangelical and Apostolical Teaching;" and "Scripture Portraits and other Miscellanies," a collection from his general writings.

There have been few occasions, if any, on which he has addressed the whole English people with greater effect than that on which, above the newly-made grave of Charles Dickens, he preached the funeral sermon of the great novelist. That sermon in the hearts of thousands of people who make no public profession of faith has found and will find an echo. We cannot easily close this brief notice of Dean Stanley's career better than by a brief quotation from the closing clauses of that admirable discourse. Taking his text from the Divine parable in which Christ told the story of Dives and Lazarus, he said:—"This day a feeling rises in us, before which the most brilliant powers of genius and the most lively sallies of wit wax faint. When on Tuesday last we stood beside that open grave, in the still deep silence of the summer morning, in the midst of this vast solitary space, broken only by that small band of fourteen mourners, it was impossible not to feel that there is something more sacred than any worldly glory, however bright; or than any mausoleum, however mighty; and that is the return of the human soul into the hands of its Maker. Many, many are the feet that have trodden and will tread the consecrated ground around his grave. Many, many are the hearts which, both in the Old World and the New, are drawn towards it as towards the resting-place of a dear personal friend. Many are the flowers which have been strewn, many the tears that have been shed, by the grateful affection of the poor that have cried, of the fatherless, and of those who have none to help them. May I speak to them a few sacred words that will come, perhaps, with a new meaning and a deeper force, because they come from the lips of their lost friend—because they are the most solemn utterances of lips now closed for ever in the grave? They are extracted from the will of Charles Dickens, dated May 12, 1869, and will now be heard by many for the first time. After the most emphatic injunctions respecting the inexpensive, unostentatious, and strictly private manner of his funeral—injunctions which have been carried out to the very letter—he thus continues:—'I direct that my name be inscribed in plain English letters on my tomb. I conjure my friends on no account to make me the subject of any monument, memorial, or testimonial whatever. I rest my claim to the remembrance of my country on my published works, and to the remembrance of my friends in their experience of me in addition thereto. I commit my soul to the mercy of God, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and I exhort my dear children humbly to try to guide themselves by the teaching of the New Testament, in its broad spirit, and to put no faith in any man's narrow construction of its letter here or there.' In that simple but sufficient faith he lived and died. In that simple and sufficient faith he bids you live and die. If any of you have learnt from his works the value—the eternal value—of generosity, of purity, of kindness, of unselfishness, and have learnt to show these in your own hearts and lives, then remember that these are the best monuments, memorials and testimonials of the friend whom you have loved, and who loved with a marvellous and exceeding love his children, his country, and his fellow-men. These are monuments which he would not refuse, and which the humblest and poorest and youngest here have it in their power to raise to his memory."

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

Wilfrid Laurier

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P.

A CAUSE in a minority can have no better champion than a humorist. No human emotion is so readily awakened as that of which laughter is the sign. And if the cause be a good one, and if the arguments, barbed by wit and winged by laughter, have any intrinsic worth, they strike the deeper and take the stouter hold because of the humorous nature of their presentation. In an assembly like the British House of Commons a laugh is a general blessing. When, in the course of the Session of 1875, one honourable gentleman, in the fervour of oratorical gesticulation, accidentally smote another honourable gentleman's hat with such force as to bury the stricken member's head, that unpurposed stroke of humour saved the debate from acrimony, and brought about a feeling of toleration which might otherwise have been very notably absent. When, on another occasion, an honourable member cast certain aspersions from him "as the lion shakes the dew-drops from his mane," the roar of laughter which greeted him seemed to lift from the hearts of many of his auditors an uncomfortable load of cynical contempt, and once more good temper reigned. If you can but thoroughly laugh *at* a man, he has some claim upon your gratitude. But when you laugh *with* him—and more especially if your ordinary routine business be of a dull, somnolent, and lugubrious character—he is genuinely your benefactor. With howsoever much of sorrow the statement may be qualified, it must be admitted that the general tone of the legislative assemblies of this empire is dull. The satirist's line may here find a new application—"Gentle dulness ever loves a joke." The general solemnity of speech in the House of Commons makes a joke more jocund, as the arm of Scott's Ethiope gave a double beauty to her pearls. Lord Palmerston's jaunty manner and flippant carelessness passed once upon a time as wit. Mr. Disraeli's somewhat pompous epigrams have been often of the very wittiest. Mr. Bernal Osborne, though his vein of fun was generally a little coarse and farcical, was often very happy in his wittieisms. But Sir Wilfrid Lawson is the only humorist that the House of Commons has seen in its later days. There are many honourable gentlemen who can say smart things, and who lay themselves out to say them. Sometimes on a big field-night in the House, when the strangers' gallery is packed, when honourable gentlemen's wives and daughters are behind the bars of that curious cage to which ladies are there relegated, and in the genial after-dinner hours the elect of British constituents fight their legislative battles, wit sparkles and coruscates, epigrams fall trippingly from the tongue, and even the crack of an occasional pun is heard. But these displays are very few and far between, and, on the whole, wit is a rare thing in the House. Yet there is, perhaps, no assembly in the world which is at all comparable in intellectual power, and certainly none which is more willing to be amused. There is certainly no man within its walls who can so readily amuse it—if we except Mr. Disraeli—as Sir Wilfrid Lawson. The Premier himself, in the Session of 1875, once or twice complimented the member for Carlisle in this respect, speaking once in a marked tone of complaisance of "that gay wisdom which is the honourable baronet's chief characteristic." Mr. Disraeli may be allowed to be a judge

of humour, and we may let his verdict stand. Sir Wilfrid does not often condescend to the employment of a verbal jingle or a pun, but when he does the jingle is the best of its kind. Speaking in favour of the reduction of the Army Estimates in 1875, he said, "This country is in point of fact governed just now by two heathen deities—by Bacchus and by Mars—or, in other words, by the god of battles and the god of bottles." In the same speech he fairly convulsed the House by one argument advanced with great apparent gravity. England, he protested, had at that moment but two enemies—the Pope, and the Colorado beetle. Mr. Gladstone, he remarked, had shown himself equal to the engagement of one of those foes, and he was sure that a Conservative Government would not allow that republican insect he had mentioned to come over here and Americanise our institutions. This is genuine fun, and fun, also, of a very high type. The speech in which these two strokes of humour appeared bristled with jest and epigram, and was filled, at the same time, with very earnest and weighty argument. But although Sir Wilfrid Lawson has been a member of the House of Commons for so many years, his complete recognition there has been of comparatively recent date, and he has grown slowly and naturally into the position he now occupies.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson is the son of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, of Brayton, Aspatria, Cumberland. The baronetcy lapsed once on a time, and was for many years out of existence. Its first creation was in or about the year 1686, and its second in the year 1831. The present baronet is the second of that second creation, and was born in the year 1829. At the general election of 1859, he stood with his uncle, Sir James Graham, as a candidate for the representation of Carlisle, and was returned by a very narrow majority over Mr. Hodgson, his opponent. He did not make any immediate effort to secure for himself a position in the House, and it was not until five years after his election that he introduced the measure so closely associated with his name.

On the evening of the 4th of March, 1864, Mr. Lawson first moved for leave to bring in the measure now known as the Permissive Bill, describing it briefly as a Bill to enable owners or occupiers of property in certain districts to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors within such districts. Mr. H. A. Bruce, who spoke on behalf of the Ministry, said, "The Government does not object to the introduction of the Bill, but, in taking that course, they do not pledge themselves to assent to its further progress." The names at the back of the Bill were those of Mr. Lawson and Mr. Bazley. The advocates of the temperance cause outside the House did all in their power to help on the measure. Mass meetings were held, and petitions almost beyond number were drawn up and signed in all parts of the country. On the day appointed for the moving of the second reading a deputation waited upon Lord Palmerston, then First Lord of the Treasury. The deputation was introduced by Lord Calthorpe, and among others who addressed the Prime Minister with respect to the Bill were Mr. Pope (afterwards Q.C.), the Rev. W. N. Molesworth (now honourably known as an historian), and Professor F. W. Newman. Lord Palmerston listened courteously to the statements made, and, as was his habit, contrived, without promising anything, or in any way committing himself, to send away the deputation impressed with a notion that they had been received rather favourably than otherwise. The day was Wednesday, and the House held, accordingly, a morning sitting. Mr. Lawson rose in a much better House than a morning sitting usually affords to move the second reading of the Bill. His speech was an admirable vindication of the measure, but, as a matter of course, had no immediate effect upon the House. It cannot often happen that on a question of this kind any man's convictions can be shaken by an afternoon's talk. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Captain Jervis, and seconded in a clever and caustic speech by Mr. Roebuck, who has throughout his whole parliamentary career since then as consistently opposed the Bill as Sir Wilfrid himself has championed it. After a debate which lasted for about three hours, the House divided,

thirty-five members voting for the Bill, and 292 against it. The majority was very great, but the minority was also larger than could have been reasonably anticipated. Including the tellers and the pairs, upwards of forty members recorded their approval of the Bill. This was regarded as a very promising beginning of the Parliamentary struggle.

The name of Sir Wilfrid Lawson is associated not only with the progress of the Permissive Bill, but with another movement of about equal importance. He is—though by no means one of the peace-at-any-price advocates—a firm opponent of the practice of unnecessary warlike demonstration; and in the March of 1865 he first declared himself in respect to his conviction on this matter in the House of Commons. He did so by moving a reduction of the Yeomanry vote from £91,000 to £43,117. He did not press this motion to a division, though he states that if there had been any chance of success he should have been glad to move the omission of the whole vote.

A few nights before this he had given evidence of his continued determination to proceed with the question of licensing, by asking Sir George Grey, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether, the House having refused to deal with the Licensing Laws by any private Bill, he now intended to introduce any public or general measure for remedying the evils inflicted on the public by those laws. Sir George Grey, with official brevity, responded that it was not his intention to introduce a general measure on the subject that Session, and it was, as a matter of course, abundantly evident from the first that any enterprise of that character would receive no support from Her Majesty's Government.

Early in the same session, Mr. Lawson moved the rejection of the Liverpool Licensing Bill, and after a debate in which Mr. Horsfall, Mr. W. E. Forster, Sir G. Grey, Mr. Roebuck, Lord Stanley, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and several other prominent members engaged, his proposition was carried, and the Bill was thrown out on its second reading. It was Mr. Lawson who called the attention of the Home Secretary to the disgraceful and horrible scene which took place at Durham on the 16th of March, 1865, at the execution of Matthew Atkinson, who was convicted at the previous assizes at Spen for the murder of his wife. In this case, however, Mr. Lawson's humane interference was not needed to call the official attention, for Sir George Grey, whose character for kindliness of heart and breadth of sympathy with all classes will not readily be forgotten, had already taken cognisance of the horror, and had officially reproved the Sheriff of Durham for the negligence which had brought about the scene complained of.

In the year 1864, the Public House Closing Act was passed, to the great improvement of many quarters of the Metropolis, and especially that of the Haymarket. The orgies carried on in that district had long been notorious, and it was a relief to the feelings of all virtuous and order-loving people when they were put an end to. Mr. Cox, the member for Finsbury, in moving, on the April of the following Session, an amendment on this Act, deprecated strongly any desire to restore this banished evil. He urged, however, that there were a great many people in London whose avocations were of such a nature that they could only be carried on at unusual hours. He pointed out the inconvenience attending on the work of market gardeners, salesmen, and greengrocers at Covent Garden, the butchers and drovers at the cattle markets, and the compositors and machinists employed on the various daily journals. Mr. Lawson opposed the Bill on the ground that the Public House Closing Act had been found to work admirably upon the whole, and had been productive of great good in respect to the order and sobriety of the Metropolis. He admitted it was a grievance to men whose business required them to be out at so late hours of the night or an early hour of the morning to include the sale of ordinary refreshments with that of spirituous liquors in the prohibition under

the Closing Act, and he thought the sale of liquors not spirituous might have been permitted. The nature of the support received by the Bill which Mr. Lawson thus opposed may be conjectured from the fact that this reasonable proposal was received with cries of "No." After a brief debate, the Bill was read a second time. In the May of the same year, Mr. Lawson took occasion to oppose in Committee on Ways and Means the abolition or reduction of the Malt Tax, suggesting in its stead a reduction of the duty upon tea.

At the general election of 1865, Mr. Lawson's old opponent, Mr. Hodgson, again appeared in the field against him, and this time carried the day, and so for three years Mr. Lawson's voice was unheard in the House of Commons. In the year 1867, Sir Wilfrid, his father, died, and he succeeded to the family honours. In the following year came another general election. The feeling of the country was strongly in favour of Mr. Gladstone, and on the current of that feeling Sir Wilfrid Lawson rode once more into St. Stephen's. His first speech in the House after his return related to the motion brought forward by Mr. Howard for an inquiry into the position occupied by the Lord-Lieutenant of Westmoreland and Cumberland; but his second appearance, which was made on the 12th of May, 1869, was on the occasion of his moving the second reading of the Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill. He was supported by a great number of petitions, and in the course of his speech he said, "I cannot tell the entire number of petitions which have been presented in favour of this Bill, but up to last night they amounted to no fewer than 2,337, and that number has been greatly augmented during the last few minutes." He put one part of his case very strongly: "All the prominent speakers against the measure," he said, "base their arguments for the repression of drunkenness upon education—and I also believe in that—but it must be education of the right sort; but whilst an army of clergymen and schoolmasters are engaged in instructing the people in what is good and virtuous, there is an army of 150,000 publicans and beer-sellers teaching the people to indulge in drinking habits—men who are paid by results, and who are licensed and empowered by the State to promote as large a sale of drink as possible, and by that means increase the revenue of the National Exchequer." He pointed out also, that in England publicans' licenses are granted by the justices, and before any person can obtain one he is obliged to give notice to the overseers and chief constable of the parish, and also to post a notice of his intention on the church door, as well as on the door of the house for which the license is asked, so that the whole locality may know what is intended. He contended that this course of proceeding showed that when the Licensing Laws were passed it was the intention that the local wishes and opinions of the inhabitants should be consulted and considered. The motion for the second reading was seconded by Mr. Bazley, one of the members for Manchester, and the rejection of the measure was moved by Colonel Jervis, the member for Harwich. The latter, in his speech, said that "the measure was one utterly opposed to the feelings and habits of Englishmen, and would induce so much ill-will and agitation that he could not understand how it was that people could be found weak enough to support its principle." Referring to the petitions before the House, he said that many of the signatures were those of children, and the working men of England were not to be legislated for on representations of such a character. "Thinking, therefore, that the spirit of the Bill was totally opposed to the feelings of a large portion of the population, he moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months." Mr. G. O. Morgan supported the Bill in a speech of considerable ability, in the course of which he said, that if there was a wide divergence of opinion among members of the House as to the Bill, there was also a very striking unanimity as to the subject-matter with which it dealt. All were agreed as to the end it had in view, and they differed only as to the means by which it was sought to attain that end. Whatever might have been thought in the good old days when a gentleman was valued in proportion

to the number of bottles of wine he could drink—the days when members of Parliament, Cabinet ministers, and even learned judges and reverend divines, were not ashamed of being found under their own dinner-tables—the days

> "When Isis' elders reeled—their pupils' sport,
> And Alma Mater lay dissolved in port—"

all were now agreed that drunkenness—long considered a disgrace in a gentleman—was the curse and the bane of our poorer classes, and the fruitful parent of crime and pauperism, and every form of misery. He did not regard Sir Wilfrid's Bill as a perfect one, but he spoke of it as standing almost alone as an honest attempt to grapple with these evils. In conclusion, he appealed to members of the House, if they wanted to point the arguments which had been addressed to them in favour of the Bill, to read the police reports of any morning newspaper; to study the contents of any judge's charge throughout the country; walk at any hour of the night or on any day of the week through the most crowded thoroughfares or the narrowest byways of any of our great cities; and when they had ascertained for themselves the extent and enormity of the evil, he asked them, if they could, to come back and point out a better remedy.

Mr. Cawley, of Salford, and Mr. W. E. Forster both opposed the measure. Lord Sandon, though declaring himself in opposition to the principles of the Bill, appealed to the Government to undertake the important duty of dealing with the liquor laws as soon as possible. Although compelled by conviction to withhold his consent from the leading provisions of the Bill, he thought the House was much indebted to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and to the great organisation with which he was connected, for the spirit and determination they had exhibited in forcing upon the country the consideration of the question. He did not agree with the means they proposed to adopt, but he could not but admire and appreciate the pains and trouble they had taken to bring the motion forward. He expressed his conviction that the demand there made was the result of no fictitious agitation, and declared that any one acquainted with a large centre of population must be aware that there was a deep, real, and earnest feeling with regard to the present state of the law on the liquor trade, and that the consideration of the whole subject would no longer brook delay.

Mr. Bruce, who had then succeeded to the office of Home Secretary, joined in the general chorus of praise bestowed upon Sir Wilfrid Lawson for his manner of introducing the Bill. "I heartily join," he said, "in the numerous congratulations which have been bestowed upon the honourable baronet on the manner in which he has introduced his Bill to the House. I have never heard so extreme a measure brought forward with so much moderation." Sir Wilfrid, in the very first passages of his speech, had promised temperance of utterance, though he had added, "I may be permitted to say at the same time, that it is not at all unnatural that persons who believe themselves to be in possession of a remedy for an enormous and admitted evil, and one which it is almost impossible to exaggerate, should place a very high value upon that remedy." Sir George Grey appealed to Sir Wilfrid Lawson not to press the Bill to a division; but Sir Wilfrid responded that he did not think he should be doing his duty to those who took such an interest in the matter if he did not ask the House to divide upon the principle of the measure. The House accordingly divided, the result being that eighty-seven members voted for the second reading and 193 against it. The majority against the Bill (106) was probably less than was expected, and, at least, the promoters of the measure were not in any way daunted by the result of the discussion and the division.

In the course of the same Session Sir Wilfrid put a question to Mr. Grant Duff, then Under-Secretary of State for India, asking whether it was true, that in consequence of the Imperial Chinese

proclamation forbidding the cultivation of the poppy in China, it had been determined to increase the production of opium in the Bengal Presidency. The reply made by Mr. Grant Duff was scarcely satisfactory, but it was not possible to take further hold upon the subject just then. When, however, the question of the opium traffic has been brought before the consideration of the House, that trade—which is regarded by many as most nefariously unworthy of a Christian people—has found in him a continued and forcible opponent. When next an opportunity afforded itself in the debate on the East India Revenue Accounts, on the 3rd of August, 1869, he spoke upon the question with no uncertain sound. The committee, he said, had no doubt observed that in Mr. Grant Duff's admirable and comprehensive statement there was one point which had been hastily and lightly touched. That point was the revenue derived from opium. The right hon. gentleman had said he should not allude to the moral aspects of that question. "He was right," said Sir Wilfrid, "for there is no defence on moral grounds to the raising of revenue by such means. He told us that about £9,000,000 of the Indian Revenue (nearly one-fifth) was derived from opium. What does that mean? It means that a large portion of the most fertile soil in India is diverted from the production of food for the people and devoted to the production of a deleterious drug. This drug is employed to pauperise and demoralise hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of the inhabitants of China." Further on, he said, "Those gentlemen in the House, and there are many, who are interested in missionary operations, know well that nothing sets the Chinese so much against accepting the truths of Christianity as witnessing this immoral and cruel policy of our Government and merchants. What, then, is the defence of this trade? There is no defence, except that the money must be had. Is, then, money to be set against morality?" Sir Wilfrid Lawson is not the only man who has asked that question with respect to the opium traffic with China, and is certainly at one with many others in being able to find only one answer to it, and that answer a disgrace to our national professions of religion.

One of the arguments used to induce Sir Wilfrid to refrain from pressing the Permissive Bill to a division after the debate referred to was, that the Government had promised to deal with the whole question of the licensing system in the course of the following Session. Sir Wilfrid had expressed a fear lest there might be a slip between the cup and the lip in that matter, and had therefore gone to a division. His fears were justified by the event, for after waiting until nearly the close of the Session of 1870, he found himself compelled once more to appeal to the House in favour of his own measure. His own speech on this occasion was both lengthier and more argumentative than either of the others he had made on previous occasions. He was again seconded by Lord Claud Hamilton, and the rejection of the Bill was this time moved by Mr. Wheelhouse, of Leeds, who has since then regularly opposed the measure on its annual presentation. When the votes came to be declared, ninety members were found in favour of the Bill, whilst its opponents numbered only 121, and this inconsiderable majority so raised the spirits of the outside supporters of the measure that they redoubled their efforts in its favour. The other side was by no means behindhand in effort, and when in 1871 Sir Wilfrid renewed his attack on the licensing system, though the number of his adherents had slightly increased, the opposing interests had made a stronger muster than before, and secured a much heavier majority. There was one very singular and rare incident connected with the battle of 1871, which it is worth while to recall. Lord Claud Hamilton, who seconded the motion for the second reading of the Bill, and Mr. Wheelhouse, who moved its rejection, were appointed as tellers, and gave in the votes as being—Ayes, 124; Noes, 206. In the printed list of votes issued, according to custom, on the following day the numbers were given thus—Ayes, 124; Noes, 196. To this discrepancy Sir Wilfrid Lawson called the attention of the Speaker. "It

appears," he said, "that yesterday, when the division took place, the honourable member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse) gave in the numbers of the majority as 206, whereas it appears by the voting list that only 196 members voted against the Bill. I believe, sir, you have given instructions to have that matter put right, and I think that the honourable member for Leeds ought to walk up the House and state his mistake." Mr. Bouverie—always regarded as a great authority upon points of etiquette in the House—gave it as his opinion, that it was not necessary for the honourable gentleman to make a new return; but the Speaker subsequently ruled that both the tellers should appear before the table of the House, and announce the true voting. Lord Claud Hamilton and Mr. Wheelhouse accordingly appeared, and announced the majority against the Bill as 72. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, before the division took place on this occasion, was betrayed into the use of a very strong expression with regard to the condition of Liverpool, which he said had been converted by free trade in liquor into something very like a hell upon earth. Lord Sandon rose to order, and Sir Wilfrid withdrew the expression on the ground that the noble Lord might fairly object to hearing the constituency he represented so described. Sir Wilfrid, before sitting down, took occasion to point out that if members would look at the history of the movement, they would see that it had advanced steadily though slowly through ridicule and misrepresentation and abuse to its then position, and he augured for it a final if a distant success.

In 1872, Mr. Bruce, then Home Secretary, introduced the Intoxicating Liquor (Licensing) Bill so intimately associated with his name. On a matter so largely affecting the ends for which he had so severely struggled, Sir Wilfrid Lawson could scarcely have given a silent vote. He gave a cordial welcome to those parts of the measure which assisted in the restriction of drunkenness; the shortening of the hours during which intoxicating liquors were to be sold; the heavy penalties imposed upon those who harboured drunkards, or permitted drunkenness on their premises; the provision for a closer inspection; the penalties insisted upon for adulteration, and the provisions with respect to the licensing authorities. That which appeared to him to be "the very jewel of the Bill" was the provision by which the hours were shortened, and he promised the Home Secretary, "If he will stick to that, we will stick to him, and carry the Bill through the House; but if he wavers in this course, we will throw him over, and never believe in him again." He thought the proposal to endorse licenses with a record of the holder's convictions for permitting drunkenness an admirable one. He held this opinion on the ground that the provision "was so much opposed by the publicans." With respect to the licensing authorities proposed by the Bill in its original form, Sir Wilfrid, amid the laughter of the House, said, "He (the Home Secretary) proposes to give the local bodies some control, and I will back him up in that, because that is the Permissive Bill again, only it is not so liberal as my Bill."

On the 8th of May, 1872, Sir Wilfrid once more introduced the Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill to a struggle for a second reading. The measure was on this occasion endorsed by the names of the mover, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and of Lord Claud Hamilton, Sir Thomas Bazley, Mr. Downing, Sir John Hanmer, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Dalway. After a lengthy battle the debate was adjourned. Mr. Wheelhouse, now the recognised champion of the opposing forces, moved the rejection of the measure, and on the renewal of the debate carried his point by a majority of 240; the numbers being—for the Bill 81, and against 321.

When, in the Session of 1874, Sir Wilfrid, appearing before the new Parliament, again introduced his measure, a slight falling-off in the number of those who voted for it was observable; the figures being—for the Bill 75, against 301—majority 226.

In the Session of 1875, in moving the second reading of the Bill, Sir Wilfrid made an unusually happy speech. His old opponent, Mr. Wheelhouse, again moved the rejection of the measure, and was followed by Alderman Carter, who, speaking in favour of the Permissive Bill, made one or two very hard-handed hits at his colleague for the Borough of Leeds, and introduced into the debate a strong, though humorous and good-tempered, personal element. On a division the figures showed as follows:—For the second reading, Ayes, 86; against, 371.

On Wednesday, the 1st of September, 1875, Sir Wilfrid addressed a great open-air gathering at Brayton Hall. About 12,000 people were said to be present. There is one passage in his speech on that occasion which affords a very admirable specimen of his more popular style. "I don't blame the publicans either. They are carrying on a lawful trade. The Queen, Lords, and Commons have said to them, 'Go, and sell drink, and make money by it,' and they go. They are diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving out the drink. Don't you people go away and imagine that I shall ever say a word against my good friends the publicans. They are the picked men of the country. It has been decided by competent authorities that a man who has been convicted of felony in former days may be returned to Parliament, and take his seat there; but he cannot keep a public-house. We are far more strict about entering the public-house trade than we are about entering Parliament. I will tell you a very curious thing that is going on, for aught I know, at this moment, in the town of Wigan. There is a clergyman applying for a licence. If he gets it, it will be a great day for the publicans; and it will be a great day for them if he does not get it, because it will show that they are superior to the clergy, and that the magistrates won't let a clergyman into their worshipful company." There is a good deal of honest and rollicking fun in all this. It is not the most polished *badinage* in all the world, but then Sir Wilfrid knew his audience, and he is too sensible to waste jewels where paste will serve him better.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Mr. Bassano, 72, Piccadilly.*]

C. H. Spurgeon

The Rev. Charles Haddon Spurgeon.

SINCE the days of Whitefield, few men equalling Charles Haddon Spurgeon in the power to attract and to hold great multitudes have arisen in England, and there are also few men about whom more diverse opinions have been expressed. He has been the object of alternate eulogy and abuse, and his admirers and his detractors have vied with each other in the extravagance of their opposing estimates. The enthusiasm of his followers has found decent and reasonable bounds for itself of late years, and no longer displays itself in the wild and unmeasured fashion which was once its characteristic. The dislike of those opposed to him in theology, and in regard to the nature of his pulpit ministrations, has been softened by the consideration of a metropolitan career, now extending over more than two decades. It is probable that no happier time than the present could have been chosen for a fair, honest, and dispassionate review of his career. His praise no longer offends those outside the pale of his influence and the circle of his beliefs. His friends are now no longer angry when they are told that he is occasionally ill-advised and unnecessarily emphatic. Charles Dickens has remarked that "coming out" in a public way is one of the easiest things, but it is a matter of some difficulty to avoid going in again. It is now more than twenty years since Mr. Spurgeon first came out in London, and London has been able to find but little change in him since that time. His powers of attraction do not appear in any degree to have diminished. The main characteristics of his style are quite unaltered. His enormous Tabernacle at Newington is still as well filled as when, in the year 1861, it was first thrown open to the public. This fact of continuance alone argues a vitality of no common order, and indicates a very valuable and singular adaptation of the man to his place and office. He is still comparatively young, being but a little over forty years of age. The exceptional energy and vigour he has displayed are as yet unimpaired. He achieved a sudden and startling fame at an age when most boys have but just left school, and he occupies to-day the unique position he seized at so early a date—being within himself but little altered, being marked with the same strong idiosyncrasies, the same energy, the same eccentricity, the same peculiar eloquence which first lifted him into public notice.

The name of Spurgeon is much more common in the county of Essex than elsewhere. The family came over from Holland, and settled in that county, rather more than two hundred years ago, having been ostracised from the land of their birth by the religious intolerance of the time. The family faith seems always to have been of the simple, broad, and self-declaratory kind. In an old history of Essex is to be found a certain passage quaintly headed as follows: "Collection of the Suffering of the People called Quakers, for the Testimony of a Good Conscience, from the time of their first being distinguished by that name in the year 1656, to the time of the Act, commonly called the Act of Toleration, granted to Protestant Dissenters in the first year of the reign of King William and Mary, in the year 1689. Taken from Original Records

and other Accounts. By Joseph Besse." From this curious old chronicle we find that one Job Spurgeon being detected *in flagrante delicto* "at a meeting," is at once haled, in the company of several fellow-offenders, before a certain Justice Smith, who, having regard to the enormity of their crime, feels himself unable to deal with them, and so commits them to take their trial at the County Sessions. After a few weeks we find them admitted to bail, and at their trial they are one and all required "to give security for their good behaviour," which means the relinquishing of their own faith, and the adoption of the creed of the Establishment, or none at all, as best suits them. But the prisoners are Friends, whose yea is yea, and whose nay is nay. Even in word, or concealment, they will not bow down before the golden calf of Ecclesiasticism, and this determination the offenders quickly make known. Therefore the outraged law dooms these contumelious ones to prison. "Three of them," proceeds the chronicler, "lay upon straw for fifteen weeks, in the midst of a winter remarkable for the extremity of cold, but the fourth, Job Spurgeon, being so weak that he was unable to lie down, sat up in a chair the most part of the time." About a hundred and fifty years later than this we have sight of a certain Rev. James Spurgeon, an Independent minister at Shambourne, in Essex—a somewhat precise old gentleman of the bygone school, attired in frilled shirt, swallow-tailed coat, knee-breeches, and shoe-buckles; in more than common request as a preacher, and, unlike his Quaker forerunner, on very excellent terms with the vicar of his parish. The son of the Reverend James is the Reverend John, who is the father of Charles Haddon Spurgeon.

At the time of Mr. Spurgeon's birth the family was still in Essex, and he was born at Kelvedon, in that county, on the 19th of June, in the year 1834. He received his education at Colchester, and seems to have been reared in a very simple and domestic way. The father's means were not large, and his sons were early taught to rely chiefly upon themselves. Mr. Spurgeon's brother James, who is also in the Baptist ministry in London, gave illustrations of this fact once upon a time at a public meeting, when, in the course of a speech, he stated that amongst other homely qualifications imparted by that early training was the art of baking, in which he still humorously boasts to shine. Their father entered the ministry late in life. He had long been popular as a preacher, and was accustomed to officiate on Sundays at a chapel in Tollesbury, within easy distance of his home. His ministrations were so successful here that he was at last persuaded to devote himself entirely to pastoral work, and accepted the spiritual charge of a congregation in the parish of Cranbrook, in Kent. Later on, he followed his son to the metropolis, where he preached to a congregation in Fetter Lane. He afterwards removed to a larger chapel situated in Upper Street, Islington, where he soon became popular.

Leaving the school at Colchester, Charles Spurgeon became an usher at Newmarket. Many of his Congregational friends, who had thus early noticed in him signs which led them to believe in his large capacity for future usefulness, advised him to enter the ministry, and proposed that he should at once enter one of the colleges belonging to their denomination, and train himself for the work. He, however, held very decided views upon the question of baptism, and on theological grounds felt himself constrained to decline their advice. He attached himself to the congregation at Cambridge which had been presided over by the late Robert Hall, and there first began to engage himself actively in the propagation of the Gospel. He commenced as a tract distributor, but before long, young as he was, he supplemented this humble work by occasional appearances in the pulpit. He delivered his first sermon at Teversham, a little place at some short distance from Cambridge. These early appearances excited a great deal of attention, and before he had been long engaged in them he became a sort of local celebrity.

He was known as the "Boy Preacher," and congregations assembled from far and near to listen to his discourses. At the age of seventeen he was asked to become the pastor of a small Baptist chapel at Waterbeach, and this offer he eventually decided to accept. Here he preached and laboured for two years, being always remarkable for diligence and energy. Whenever he preached, or made a public appearance, the place in which he did so was crowded. One of his admirers describes him as being a round-faced lad, of aspect rather jovial than otherwise. But the young preacher's manner was marked as strongly dramatic, and very forcible and pungent. His language was hearty, straightforward, and racy with idiom; his bearing a trifle dictatorial and remarkable for its self-possession. These early characteristics have remained with him, and, so far as can be judged from printed discourses, he has altered but little in his method of mind or in literary form.

He spent two years in Waterbeach, and at the end of that time he yielded to the persuasion of friends who pointed out to him the sphere which might be opened to him in the metropolis. There was a certain Baptist chapel in New Park Street, Southwark, whose congregation had, in the year 1853, gradually dwindled down to the merest handful of people. To this place the young preacher came, and delivered his first sermon to a large array of empty pews, and here and there a lonely auditor. His second sermon was preached under more favourable auspices, and his third was yet better attended. In short, before he had been there a month the place was well filled, and in a little longer time inconveniently filled. Mr. Spurgeon became the rage. People came from all parts of London to hear him, and the aisles were crowded, and the pulpit-steps assailed. Even then hundreds went away unable to obtain admission. An hour, and sometimes more than an hour, before the time appointed for the commencement of the service, the entrances to the chapel were surrounded by eager crowds.

It was eventually decided to enlarge the place, and the work was put in hand in 1855. Pending the alterations, Mr. Spurgeon and his congregation removed to Exeter Hall, where they remained for four months. Here he became more an object of public attention than ever. Injudicious admirers and unscrupulous detractors alike exaggerated the occasional oddities and *bizarreries* of his speech. Not a few of those who crowded to hear Mr. Spurgeon at this time might be classed with those "who came to scoff" at the ministrations of the good parson of Auburn, but it is assured that many who thus came "remained to pray."

Mr. Spurgeon was now a decided feature in metropolitan life. The newspapers and the religious publications of the time canvassed his merits freely. By some he was decried as "bawling," "irreverent," "purposely *outré*," "ignorant," and "assumptious." By others he was set as high above his real place as these forcible diatribes set him below it. By some he was compared to John Knox, to George Whitefield, to Edward Irving. There can be but little doubt that for a time at least this alternate adulation and abuse had the effect which might have been feared from it. It is no mean testimony to the candour and solidity of Mr. Spurgeon's character that the effect was so small and so transient. He was at this time just of age, and it will readily be acknowledged that few men so young would have been at all able to live through such a time of exaltation without a very serious loss of moral bias. One of greater gifts, a man of ripe scholarship, fine fancy, and glorious eloquence, fell but a few years earlier before the same temptation. But Edward Irving was, with all his wonderful gifts, lacking in the sturdy common-sense which saved Mr. Spurgeon from the moral blight of overweening vanity. That the latter felt his temptation, and recognised his danger, is evident from his sermons, and is said, by those who listened to him, to have been still more evident from his public prayers.

Returning, after four months' occupancy of Exeter Hall, to the enlarged chapel in New Park Street, Southwark, he still found the place too small for him, and was compelled to cast about anew for a place of sufficient size to accommodate the enormous crowds, which now, in greater force than ever, flocked to hear him. Circumstances led him to decide upon the Surrey Music Hall. The Surrey Gardens, known to Londoners of the last generation by the zoological collection once exhibited there, had lately passed into the hands of a limited liability company. Among other alterations effected by this company was the erection of a magnificent music hall. It was here that the celebrated concerts of M. Julien, whose name was once a household word, were held, and the building was supposed to be capable of holding at least ten thousand persons. In the interior were three large galleries rising one above the other, access to which was obtained by four circular staircases of stone, constructed in the towers which flanked each corner of the building. We are thus particular in describing the place, because it is necessary that its construction should be known for the proper understanding of the melancholy story that follows. The enormous edifice was filled by the attractions of the popular preacher; but on the evening of the 19th of October, 1856, a dreadful accident took place, which thereafter kept many nervous people away. The hour appointed for service was half-past six, and it was given in evidence at the inquest that ensued that long before that hour there were at least 7,000 people in the galleries and area of the building. The rush to obtain admission was so great at these services that it was found necessary to invoke the aid of the police. On this evening, the inspector in charge, noticing the unusually crowded aspect of the building, gave orders that the gates should be closed. The service began, but it had not gone on more than a quarter of an hour, when it was noticed that a violent agitation took place amongst a score or so of people on the floor of the building. A cry of "Fire!" was heard, and a scene of the wildest confusion took place. In the excited efforts of the multitude to leave the building, men and women were crushed and trodden under foot. The appeals of the braver and more self-possessed were disregarded, and a danger greater than that of fire itself was created by the panic of the crowd. Fortunately the means of egress from the area were wide and numerous, but the stone landings, on which the staircases of the galleries met, were the scenes of most tragic occurrences. No fewer than seven people were crushed or trampled to death. One melancholy instance of maternal devotion was given here. One of the women in the crowd anxious to save the child by whom she was accompanied from the crush, held it over the banisters, and remained there, hoping that the people would pass by her. Her husband also placed himself there, and supported her with his arm; but when the crowd had passed it was found that she had preserved her child at the sacrifice of her own life. Mr. Spurgeon continued the service merely to prevent the panic becoming worse; and he had no idea at the time that any one had been injured.

It was never discovered whether the alarm of fire was or was not one of those wicked follies known as practical jokes, but it was strongly suspected that it was so. No precise information could be obtained, and the inquest held upon the bodies of the sufferers closed with the return of an open verdict.

The occupation of the Surrey Music Hall was never intended to be more than temporary; and about this time Mr. Spurgeon's followers were making arrangements for the erection of a building which should at once be permanent, and of a sufficient size to accommodate the congregation attracted by their pastor's preaching. Land suitable for the purpose was found at Newington Butts, and the work was at once begun with great energy. The building, which is known as the Metropolitan Tabernacle, was publicly opened in 1861. The edifice is 150 feet

long, 80 feet wide, and 70 feet high. It has two galleries, and the preacher's platform is on a level with the lower one. The average congregation is estimated at about 6,000 people. There are no fewer than 5,000 seat-holders, who are provided with tickets. In one of the religious publications of the time, it was announced, somewhat quaintly, that in this enormous edifice "no other warming apparatus than the pulpit was had in contemplation." Almost from the earliest time of his appearance in London, Mr. Spurgeon's sermons have been reported by a shorthand writer, and given to the public. Their circulation has varied from 20,000 to nearly half a million. The number of communicants attending the Tabernacle is over 4,500, and the monthly average of persons baptized is about fifty. The agencies for usefulness connected with the Tabernacle are almost endless, and are all under the care and control of the pastor, who exercises an untiring supervision over every department. When the building was first erected, it was intended that it should serve within itself for all the purposes of the various agencies which Mr. Spurgeon had gathered round him. Amongst other plans he had developed was one for a Pastors' College, and the rooms in which the labours of the students were conducted were below the church itself. On the same floor were ranges of offices, class rooms, and committee rooms. It was found that this underground method of life was not wholesome, and a separate building was therefore erected in the near neighbourhood of the Tabernacle for the accommodation of the students. That building was formally opened in 1874. It was built on land belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and some fears were expressed as to whether that body would be willing to sell it for the purpose to which it was desired to put it. It was the only piece of ground in the neighbourhood which was suited to the requirements of the institution. Happily, no such bigotry as that hinted at as possible by the projectors of the scheme was displayed by the Commissioners, and the land was easily secured. There are, at the present time, about seventy students in the college, which is under the presidency of the Rev. George Rogers. The institution involves an outlay of some £4,500 a year, for which Mr. Spurgeon alone is responsible, but the amount has hitherto always been raised by voluntary subscriptions. Nearly 300 of its old students are now engaged in preaching the Gospel as regular ministers in different parts of the kingdom. A still larger number of young men are acting as evangelists, colporteurs, and lay-preachers; indeed, of the last-named class, the Pastors' College has trained several hundreds. It is noticeable that, by those best acquainted with them, the students sent forth from this institution are described as having a certain unmistakable "Spurgeon tinge," which is said to be far less the result of any conscious imitation than of the strong and continual influence of the man who is the moving spirit of the whole society.

In a merely social sense, Mr. Spurgeon is not, and never has been, particular as to the kind of men admitted to the benefits of the Pastors' College. It is a fact that some of the students have entered upon their collegiate course direct from the plough, and one of the organs of the denomination to which Mr. Spurgeon belongs has proclaimed that "even the street knife-grinders have contributed to the muster-roll." The average age of candidates admitted is twenty-five, but some are as young as twenty, whilst others are thirty years of age. The principle of reception into the college is simple. Only those who have preached the Gospel for about two years, or who have in other ways given evidence of their sincerity are admitted. It is not proposed to *make* preachers, but simply to aid those who are preachers already in obtaining an education, and generally to fit them for Christian work. There is no lack of applicants, and, indeed, Mr. Spurgeon is able to make a very careful selection, from the numbers of fit and unfit who present themselves. "Young and ardent spirits," says one of the managing

body, "are evidently attracted to us, for such have applied to us from places far away—from America, and from different countries in Europe, as well as from every denomination of Christians at home." It has often been urged that the two years devoted by the students to college life cannot allow of a sufficient training. In answer to this, Mr. Spurgeon has always professed his desire to appeal to facts, and has pointed to the number of men who have been trained in the college, and who are now at work in different parts of the kingdom. Mr. Rogers, the president of the institution, has expressed his opinion "that if the end of the students be to publish a plain Gospel in a plain way, with a direct view to win souls for Christ, the college has certainly not failed in its design." The curriculum includes mathematics, logic, Hebrew, the Greek Testament, homiletics, pastoral theology, and English composition. Lectures on theology and Biblical study are regularly delivered. In the metropolis and its suburbs, there are about fifty chapels supplied with ministers by the Baptist College, and of these more than thirty are new causes commenced under the ministry of the students. It is recorded that one man made continual and energetic application for admission to the benefits of the college who could neither read nor write. It was at last decided to see what could be done with him. He advanced rapidly, and after passing through the customary course, he entered upon the work of a country evangelist. It was discovered that he was able in this sphere to reach men and women who had proved themselves impervious to the advances of more cultivated workers.

Within a stone's-throw of the Tabernacle is erected another part of its machinery for good, in the form of a range of almshouses, in which shelter and sustenance are given to twenty-four of the poorest and most infirm of the congregation. The funds necessary for the continuance of this charity are provided by voluntary subscriptions, and it, like all other parts of the Metropolitan Tabernacle scheme, is under Mr. Spurgeon's care and supervision.

There is also, in connection with the almshouses, a boy's school, in which an education of a thoroughly unsectarian character is imparted to three hundred pupils. Yet another institution is the Colportage Society, which conducts its operations on a large scale. The chief aim of the association is to supply religious books and periodicals to the people of rural districts, and a large number of hawkers find employment in this direction. It is, of course, one of the principal objects of the director of the society to secure the service of men who act not only as salesmen but as evangelists; and by this means an amount of work is secured at the hands of earnest men who could not otherwise give up their time to religious labour, and it is believed that an effect quite disproportionate with the very small expenses of the institution is secured.

We have yet to come to the institution which claims Mr. Spurgeon's most especial care and affection. This is the Stockwell Orphanage, founded in the September of 1867. The history of the beginning of his orphanage is somewhat curious. Mr. Spurgeon, as is well-known, adds to his other labours that of editor of, and contributor to, a publication called "Sword and Trowel." For this magazine he wrote an article which was illustrated by a picture of Arnold the Swiss patriot throwing himself into the ranks of the Austrian army. That picture was, according to Mr. Spurgeon's own statement of it, a very bad one—so bad, indeed, that the majority of people wondered what it was intended to portray—an artistic defect for which he comforted himself by thinking that its very obscurity would draw the chance reader to the text from a mere desire to elucidate this enigmatical woodcut. One person, at least, was induced to read it with very singular results. The article urged the desirability of founding an orphanage on certain definite principles; and within a few days after its appearance the author received a letter from a benevolent lady—by name Mrs. Hillyard—who stated that she had resolved to give £20,000

to found an Orphan House for boys, and wished Mr. Spurgeon to take charge of the work. Long afterwards, in inaugurating the orphanage, Mr. Spurgeon stated that he went to the address named in the letter, with a very strong conviction that the whole thing was a hoax. He had, for some reason or other, been the victim of a good many practical jokes. On one occasion, when the present Primate of All England was Bishop of London, he received a letter purporting to come from Mr. Spurgeon, and inviting him to dinner on a certain day. On the same day Mr. Spurgeon was invited to dine with the Bishop, in a letter which appeared to have been written by that dignitary himself. He shrewdly suspected something of the same kind in the present case, but finding that name and address had been rightly given, and that Mrs. Hillyard evidently expected him, he nervously conceived the thought that he had utterly misread the amount. He named £200 as the sum mentioned in her letter, but she at once corrected him, and repeated her desire to expend £20,000 in the erection of the proposed orphanage. This munificent donation was accepted; but the money being locked up in railway debentures, and that not being a favourable time for realising in cash, it was allowed to remain, and was treated as an endowment fund. A subscription was set on foot, and a sufficient sum was rapidly gathered, not only to erect the buildings, but to make the substantial addition of £5,000 to the fund for the endowment of the charity. It should be stated that there is no preference shown for Baptists, the right of entrance being entirely unsectarian. The only claim recognised is the poverty of the widowed mothers of the boys. As many as possible are received, but no canvassing or polling is permitted, the children being selected by the trustees. At the time of writing, more than two hundred are receiving the benefits of the institution, which appears to be conducted on that system of faith of which the orphanage of Mr. Müller, near Bristol, is so remarkable an example. The floating balance has, on one occasion, been as low as £10, but nothing has been actually wanted.

With all these things on his hands, Mr. Spurgeon is and has been a busy man. Few constitutions could possibly have borne the continuous strain to which he has subjected himself; and once, in 1872, even his system gave way under the continual drains he had made upon it, and he was compelled through ill-health to absent himself from the annual gathering at the Stockwell Orphanage, and for some little time to abstain from work. In addition to the perpetual claims of the various institutions to which we have alluded, Mr. Spurgeon has been called upon in other directions. He has done a great deal of literary work of various kinds. His "John Ploughman's Talk" has had a marvellous popularity which has probably been due more to his reputation as a preacher than to any inherent force of its own. Nearly a quarter of a million copies have been sold. His most important book is "The Treasury of David"—a work which has evidently involved a great amount of very close research and study.

Mr. Spurgeon never writes his sermons, but he usually gives several hours to their preparation. However, he can and does improvise when needful. In his theology he is rigidly orthodox.

He has many times lectured in various parts of the kingdom with much success. But this, as he has himself proclaimed, is not his forte, being at least partly destructive of that spontaneity which constitutes the chief force and charm of his discourses. The most popular of his lectures is delivered under the title of "A Sermon on Candles," which is reported to have had rather a singular origin. Enforcing one day upon his students his belief that the least promising of subjects might be made in earnest hands to yield good and interesting matter, he received a sort of friendly challenge from one of them to preach a sermon upon candles. He accepted the challenge, and the lecture was the result. One of the most charming of German

novels—"Knitting Needles"—and one of the most attractive of Sterne's sermons were produced under similar conditions. Sterne's discourse was based upon the very unpromising text, "Is there any taste in the white of an egg?" Mr. Spurgeon's lecture is diversified by a hundred quaint and characteristic illustrations, and has been delivered in most of the principal towns in the kingdom. He has on several occasions been invited to America, and large sums have been offered him for a lecturing tour there; but these offers he has hitherto consistently declined.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott and Fry.*]

W Holman Hunt

William Holman Hunt.

MR. HUNT has of late years made, at irregular and uncertain intervals, an appeal to the suffrages of the general art-loving public. Deeply wounded a long time ago by the reception which he and his artistic comrades met with at the hands of the authorities, he has never since been able thoroughly to fraternise with them, and has pursued his artistic way in comparative loneliness. The walls of Burlington House have thus missed several ornaments, but the public has, without doubt, gained much. The best of pictures loses by an exhibition in company with many others. The attention of the observer is distracted. The palate is sometimes surfeited with sweets, sometimes shocked with crudities. In either case the delicacy of its enjoyment is destroyed. Mr. Hunt's later practice with regard to the exhibition of his works has been profitable alike to him and to us. The critic carries his standards of comparison always with him. They are part of his mental organism. It cannot therefore be said that Mr. Hunt has unfairly profited by the mere bodily absence of rivalry. But it is certain that the peculiar position he holds in the minds of most lovers of art is very largely due to his method of exhibition. There are a few of his pictures which such people can recall with a vividness and minuteness of detail of which memory is in other instances incapable. Nor does this minuteness of memory at all depend upon the extreme minuteness of detail in the works themselves. That, on the contrary, might, if taken alone, confuse the memory and overload it. It arises from the fact that they have been able to see and to examine each picture alone, that they have carried a fresh and unwearied faculty and a clear eye to the contemplation of its beauties, and that they have got away afterwards without diluting their impressions by the examination of other works of art. It seems in every way fit and proper that the genius of Mr. Hunt should be able to secure this undivided momentary allegiance. The peculiarities of his work demand it: its virtues and even its defects alike also demand it. He is never especially striking at first sight. He has none of the dash and motion of Rubens, none of the cavernous shadows and unearthly lights of Rembrandt, none of the gorgeousness of divers of his modern competitors, none of the obvious emotion of his old fellow-student and art-friend Millais. Placed in a gallery of modern paintings, his work would, for the most part, strike the observer as having an air of pallor. An unsatisfying sense of a certain want of richness and melody would probably be experienced in such a case over most of his pictures. Even when they are seen alone, the eye, accustomed to the glowing splendours of Turner, and the—shall we say?—half-barbaric richness of the annual Art Show, is not at once reconciled to their soft and tender sweetness of tone, and their archaic severity of line.

Yet the true art-lover has not long to look before a reconciliation at least begins. Hunt's detail is sometimes said to be obtrusive; and one of his later critics has said of him that he somewhat insults the spectator with over-work, like a patient divine who over-elaborates his

text, and insists on explaining everything. *Chacun à son goût.* Only there is a large and an increasing school to whose members this patient elaboration appears to be the very essential tribute of an artist to the saeredness and the beauty of his art. In the older days the reverent art-workman who laboured for the gods wrought even the unseen parts of their statues with a careful painstaking—"for the gods see everywhere."

Born in London in 1827, Mr. Hunt had an unusually up-hill battle to fight in the pursuit of art. His means were sometimes sadly slender, and the steep slope of that hill on which "Fame's temple shines afar" was by that fact made steeper. He worked at the academy side by side with Millais and Gabriel Rossetti, and was the chief of the enthusiastie young party which dubbed itself, at Rossetti's suggestion, "The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood." With them he shared the obloquy which was poured upon the little band for its rejection of the antique, and its determination to follow nature, and nature only. Though he was the acknowledged leader of the very limited new school to which he belonged, and though his abilities were freely enough admitted, he made little or no headway at the academic school. Neither he nor his eompanion Rossetti took a single prize during the whole course of their training there. The fact of Rossetti's companionship was singularly fortunate, for it was he who gave its essentially literary and poetic tone to the brotherhood. The whole bent of the minds of all three was in one direction. Hunt, Millais, and Rossetti, had eaeh a passion for Keats—a fact in itself significant at that time. For poor Keats had not then taken the place in the realm of literature to which a wiser generation has judged him to be entitled, and there was still a suspieion of eockneyism about him to the narrow eritical mind. Nearly all Hunt's earlier works were adapted from poetry or from fietion. Beyond the fact that his first exhibited picture was entitled "Hush," or "Hark," we have been able to discover nothing concerning it; but we know that Sir Walter Scott supplied the inspiration for the picture of the following year—"Dr. Rochecliffe performing Divine Service at the Cottage of Joceline Joliffe at Woodstock"—and that Keats' most exquisite and perfect narrative poem, "The Eve of St. Agnes," found the young painter the material for "The Flight of Madeline and Porphyro" (1848). In the following year Bulwer Lytton's "Last of the Tribunes" was the source of inspiration, and the artist exhibited a work entitled, "Rienzi vowing to obtain Justice for the Death of his Young Brother."

In 1850, another bent began to declare itself in the artist's mind, and he made his first venture into those regions of religion and of symbolism in which he has since most delighted to dwell. His earliest work in this direction was entitled, "Converted British Family sheltering a Christian Missionary from the Pursuit of the Druids." It was, like all his subjects, remarkable for the intensity of its conception and the faithfulness of its detail, and was further noticeable for its defiance of established rule in grouping, and for the wide and varied field of incident which it presented. In 1851 the artist had made an advance in respect to his literary loves, and we find him dealing with that graceful episode in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* in which Proteus presents Sylvia to Valentine.

In 1852 he painted his first distinctly symbolie and allegorie picture, "The Hireling Shepherd." This work is full of a somewhat quaint and archaic symbolism, of whose less gracious characteristics Mr. Hunt has purged himself long since. The hireling shepherd is leaving his sheep to look after themselves, whilst he looks after his own pleasures, and makes love to his lass. He has just caught a moth, which he is in the act of showing her, and she, with an aspect of terror, is starting back from him on discovery of the ominous fact that the

moth is the death's-head. The girl has been taking charge of a pet lamb, but has had nothing better than green and unripe fruit to feed it with. The sheep are all woefully astray, and the symbolism of the picture declares itself in a score of varying ways. Concerning its workmanlike qualities, Mr. Michael Rossetti, who, next to Mr. Ruskin, has been the ablest exponent and most constant defender of the pre-Raphaelite school, thus discourses:—"There is no laziness in it, no listless unappreciative copyism, or putting up with whatever comes first. The actions of all these sheep—each distinct and characteristic—have been watched and perfectly understood. In the country scene in which the incident takes place—from the marsh-mallows, elecampane plant, and thickly-tangled grass of the foreground, to the August cornfield and pollard willows, and, above all, the elms and bean-stacks of the distance, there is a feeling of the country—its sunny, shadow-varied openness—such as could hardly be more completely expressed; a reality which makes the distance beyond the horizon as conceivable and actual to the spectator as it would be in nature."

In the following year, Mr. Hunt returned to Shakespeare, and produced a picture founded on *Measure for Measure*. The scene is between Claudia and Isabella, and the text "Death is a fearful thing, and shamèd life a hateful." In this year he also produced his first pure landscape, "Our English Coasts"—a lovely study of the Downs at Hastings.

Let us, by way of illustrating the artist's method of work, review one or two of his pictures in company. Probably the best known of all his works is that which represents the Saviour standing alone before a door overgrown with weeds and briars—"Behold, I stand at the door and knock." Notice the low yet brilliant colouring, the tender pallor of the whole picture; the patient and reverent elaboration of every detail, the rich and sacred symbolism of the whole Notice also the face of the Saviour here depicted—the profound melancholy, the exquisite God-like and yet manly tenderness, the yearning look of expectation which lives within it Such a picture is more powerful than many sermons. It is more than a mere picture—it is a sacred poem. Notice further how that low and pallid tone of colour suits the theme. One might as well attempt to write a comic song in Homer's prodigious metre as to paint such a picture in more gorgeous tones. There is something bespeaking the reverence of the artist in the very quiet of his colour; there is something in that quiet which appeals with irresistible pathos to the heart of the beholder. The drawing is severe. The lines of drapery and of foliage, though they have everywhere the soul of gracefulness, are hard. Yet even this severity has its charm, and is so tempered by the whole tone of the work, that it is no longer, as it would be in the hands of a less perfect master of his art, repellent. The engraving of this work is very popular, but how much the work loses by engraving it would be hard to say. It would, indeed, be difficult to name an artist at all equalling Hunt in power who loses so much when presented in mere black and white.

The following criticism, from the pen of Mr. Michael Rossetti, is so thoughtful and complete as to be well worth insertion here:—"The orchard through which Christ approaches is the world. The door is the human soul, barred and cramped with rusty nails, and overgrown with weeds and thorns. As Christ knocks, night is hardly yielding to the emerald glimmer of first dawn, symbolic by analogy of the last day and judgment—for the judgment passes, as it were, upon each soul individually, according as the door remains shut or open. The lantern by whose light Christ walks through the orchard is the Church, it being the Church which testifies of Christ to the world, or, in other words, whose light sustained by His hand shows Him to men. This appears to be indicated by the types of ecclesiastical architecture adopted in the lantern, and also, perhaps, by

the emission of the rays through several loopholes. The scared bat beating blindly out of the recesses of the door is the sluggish lethargy of mood which the knocker's arrival frightens—an unclean creature of the night of the soul. The fallen orchard fruit suggests many things equally applicable—that the time is already over-ripe as immediately and aptly as any other idea. The dews of heaven with which the ground is covered scintillate starlike in the night. Christ is robed as Prophet, Priest, and King. On His head are the crown of majesty and the crown of thorns; on His breast the priest's breastplate, with the jewels of the twelve tribes of Israel united by a cross to another jewelled plate (the first square or limited, the second circular or limitless), to show that the election of the peculiar people is extended by the grace of the Cross to all men."

So great was the influence exerted upon the public mind by this picture, that many sermons illustrating its meaning, and dwelling upon its teaching, were preached by ministers of the Church of England and other denominations. Several of these sermons were published, and one or two are still extant. Mr. Ruskin was then writing "The Letters of an Oxford Undergraduate" to the *Times*, and his eloquent utterances did much to spread abroad the fame of the picture and to elucidate its meaning.

Take, further, "The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple." It is characteristic of the patient and reverent bent of Mr. Hunt's genius that this picture, in common with some others, should have been studied and painted in the East. The old masters, great as they were, were often sadly at fault in this respect, and it has again and again been noticed that St. John is a Spaniard in Madrid, a Dutchman at Antwerp, and an Italian at Rome. A modern humorist, speaking of this tendency on the part of the old masters to invest the saints, the apostles, and the martyrs with the outward signs of their own nationality, has even gone so far as to speculate as to whether St. Joseph would be found depicted as an Irishman in Dublin. But Mr. Hunt, instead of painting the old conventional types, has gone away to the sacred ground itself, and has there found living models. This work is singularly graceful in conception and in treatment. The grave and reverend Seigniors of the Sanhedrim are seated in a semicircle, the boy Christ standing before them with a strange self-possession and ease. The very core and heart of the picture is the figure of the anxious Virgin mother. Her dress is travel-stained and a little disarranged by the exigent haste of her journey. Her face is a perfect wonder of maternal solicitude. In its expression, gladness at the recovery of her lost child is strangely and sweetly blended with the eagerness of desire and the disappointment of hope. For the motherly heart has before now gone out at the fancied resemblance of some stranger to her child, and the searcher has been disappointed often. The shadow of that disappointment still survives upon the face, and has a subtle life beneath the look of gladness which is its chief expression. The faces of the Doctors are all admirably rendered, and the perspective of the Temple, and the glimpses of distant landscapes seen between its columns, are in fine keeping with the theme. In this case the engraving of the picture is even less to be trusted than in the case just cited. It is not that the engraver has worked unworthily, or, indeed, that he has worked anything but faithfully and well, but that it is even less possible here than in most cases so to convey the sentiment of the picture. Until Mr. Hunt's advent, there were probably no pictures more difficult to engrave with any hope of an adequate rendering of their special characteristics than those of Turner, although in the re-production of his works it was possible to show something of that delicate mastery of atmosphere which is their especial characteristic. All true works of art suffer by such a translation. No poem ever yet found itself turned from its original language

without losing much in the transition. One of Beranger's exquisite lyries—that in which he relates, half eomically and half pathetieally, the story of his own life—is trauslated by Father Prout. The language employed by the translator is in every way richer, more mobile, and poetical, than that in which the original is written. Yet, in the course of trauslation, the sweet aroma of the verse has vanished. The translator was himself a poet not altogether of a mean order, yet the result of his effort is poor and barren. It is obvious that the result of the engraver's effort to translate the work of the artist must be hampered by eveu larger difficulties. The rich vocabulary of the painter's art is but poorly represented by the thin and sterile language in which the engraver strives to reproduce him. And true as this must necessarily be in all eases, it is more than usually true in this. There is something in Hunt's pictures, and especially in this particular picture, which altogether refuses to be seized by the engraver. For here again the artist's sense of eolour is supreme, and the tone of the work is in complete and perfect keeping with its subject.

In that work of Mr. Hunt's which most people regard as his greatest, he has gone into another field. "The Shadow of Death" conveys no parable, insists on no deep lesson. The artist is no longer didactic, and possibly the result of his art is therefore all the more valuable. His story tells itself plainly. For the foree of its applieation to the feeling of the beholder it relies entirely upon the beholder himself. The artist, always uneonveutional, is here more unconventioual than ever. He has gone apart from all those scenes of the Saviour's life with which the artist eommonly deals, and has chosen, after his own realistie fashion, a time in His career and a moment of feeling which never presented themselves to any painter before him. In the artist's fancy the open and publie ministry of Christ has not yet begun. The Diviue Being is yet in His apprenticeship to the business of humanity. He stands in the little Eastern earpenter's shop, with His scattered tools about Him. The evidenees of a labour severe and plebeian are here in plenty. The saw still rests in the plank, the shavings from the plane lie thick upon the floor. But the time for rest has arrived, and the Divine workmau, with a grateful sense of eoming rest, throws apart His arms as He relaxes His muscles from the stretch to which they have been subjected during the afternoou's labour. Through the open window of the little shop you get a glimpse of the hills of Jezreel, and the far-away mountains of the Perea, purple with the glow of early evening, and of the tranquil Galilean sky. Kneeling upon the Saviour's right before a richly decorated chest is the figure of the Virgin. Her face is hidden, but there is a something so marvellously real in the attitude of the figure, that you almost fauey you catch her startled glauce towards that awful and mysterious shadow which gives its name to the pieture. Upon a tool-rack that hangs upon the wall rests the shadow of the Saviour's figure. The arrangement of the tools and the rack is roughly fashioned into the semblance of the upper part of a erucifix, and thus the shadow of a human frame nailed to the cross trembles for a moment on the wall. Though we said just now that Mr. Hunt has gone away in this work from his old field of symbolism, there are symbols ready enough here to present themselves to the fanciful mind, but their obvious and direct intention is no longer patent, and it is, perhaps, scarcely worth while to insist upon them. There are some points about the work which claim special recognition. The first thing which strikes one on looking at the picture is the completely natural and altogether uneonventional rendering of the figure of Christ himself. In the counteuance there is none of that mingled majesty and tenderness of which Mr. Rossetti justly takes notice in the same artist's presentment of Christ in "The Light of the World." The face of the Saviour in "The Shadow of Death," though in the very highest, purest, and sweetest type of manly beauty, has in it

no suggestion of Divinity. Its expression is that of weariness rising to sweet rest. There lies upon it a look of devout tranquillity and thankfulness, but the whole figure, though of the highest earthly nobility, is still earthly. Possibly, the artist's conception, though no truer in spirit and intent than that of painters in the conventional schools, is the more needed and the more useful. It has been so much the fashion alike with artist, poet, and divine to deal with Christ only in His Divine aspects, or at least in those aspects in which His Divinity is manifest, that the fact of the completeness of His manhood needs sometimes to be insisted upon, and it is not easy to fancy any treatment of that purely human aspect of His character more tender, more reverential, more pathetic than this.

True to that plan which Mr. Hunt, sometime before the year 1854, laid down for himself, he has once more gone back to the East for his inspiration and his models. From the succinct and admirable little account of his picture, which he himself published on its exhibition, in the early part of 1874, we learn that in the figure of the Saviour he has closely followed the characteristics still preserved among the people from whom He sprung, and among whom He moved and laboured. The chestnut hair, the blue eyes, the mellow dusk of the complexion, are all accurately rendered. There is one thing about this great picture which, even to an admirer of the pre-Raphaelite school, brings at first a sense of disappointment. A little repose would have been pleasant. There is too much of the "lidless dragon eye" about it. One could be grateful for a little absence of excessive painstaking. One could be very thankful for a cool and quiet shadow here and there—on the floor, for instance, where every crack, and grain, and fissure, and curl in every shaving that lies there is as carefully, as delicately, and as masterly painted as though it were of the highest importance to the work. That the artist has lavished labour on the rich silks and brocades, the crown of gold, and the richly carved coffer above which the figure of the Virgin bends, we can only be grateful. These are objects of beauty in themselves, and deserve their exquisite rendering. But it would have added something to, at least, the spectator's first sense of enjoyment if the painter had, in other places, relaxed a little of his labour. Yet, after all, the whole work, after long and repeated contemplation, so grows upon the love of the student, so builds itself up into pure harmony of conception and of detail, that he would not spare a tint or a touch of the pencil. It is not a picture to be seen once or twice alone: its beauties cannot be grasped so. Like all great works, it not only renews its first appeal upon a second acquaintance, but presents another, and another, and another, with every re-examination. In its originality, and in a certain calm sublimity which belongs to its conception, it stands alone—a poem on canvas, an oratorio in colour.

We have gone somewhat out of chronological order in thus dealing with Mr. Hunt's productions, but the works we have described may be not inaptly said to form a sort of sacred art trilogy. Another great mystic work from the same hand, exhibited so far back as the year 1856, was entitled "The Scapegoat." This is described as having been painted—actually studied and executed, that is—"on the margin of the salt-encrusted shallows of the Dead Sea." The work was executed at Oosdoom, and was the first exhibited result of Mr. Hunt's Eastern travel. Mr. Ruskin, many years ago, was bold enough to say that he questioned whether even the greatest men of old time possessed more exhaustless invention than Millais or Rossetti. The great art-critic might have extended his judgment to the leader of the new school, and included Hunt. It is one of the special failures of genius to reproduce itself. In this railway age, when "every hour must sweat its sixty minutes to the death," this failing is more conspicuous than it has ever been before. Nor is it only in one realm of art that it

declares itself. It would be easy to instance half a score of cases among poets, dramatists, novelists, and painters in which this same fault of self-repetition has been productive of the worst effects. Thackeray, great as he was, went back to his wicked lords and his big footmen more than once too often. Even Dickens, on one or two occasions, wandered as a mere gleaner over fields in which he had aforetime reaped a glorious harvest. There is no need to cite further instances; the fact is only too patent. It tells greatly to Mr. Hunt's credit that he has never been anxious to work too fast, or to make money with undue rapidity by rushing at his work. He has, in every instance, waited for his proper inspiration, and he has thereby done himself such justice as he could never otherwise have hoped to do. There is not one of his pictures which can, in any sense, be regarded as a repetition of another. His conceptions are all new *ab ovo*. "The Scapegoat" has a mystic symbolism which is quite distinct from that of "The Light of the World" and "The Hireling Shepherd." The hunted creature driven out into the wilds, bearing to the wilderness the sins of the people who have chased it from them, stands lost, wearied, and foredone on the margin of those salt-encrusted shallows of the Dead Sea. The surroundings are singularly weird and powerful, and landscape and sky, in the unspeakable desolation of their loneliness, are at one with the expression and purport of the solitary figure of the picture. Not only the actual pathos of the situation affects us. We read the painter's symbolic intent, and are impressed with the thought of the sombre symbolism of the old Hebrew ceremonial. There is, in all Mr. Hunt's mystic work, a certain deep emotional piety which is very impressive. The artist stands reverently aloof from the supreme tragedy of the Redemption. His very reverence forces him into symbolism, and he dares to approach that tremendous theme only under the figure of an awful simile.

"Awakening Conscience," painted in 1854; "London Bridge on the Night of the Marriage of the Prince of Wales;" "The Afterglow;" and "The Festival of St. Swithin," complete the catalogue of Mr. Hunt's works in oil.

As an illustrator of books he is not especially well known, nor has he been in all cases especially happy or successful. The sumptuous quarto edition of Tennyson's poems, published in 1849, received several contributions from his pencil. "The Recollections of the Arabian Nights," gives occasion for two illustrations, the one having reference to the line, "Adown the Tigris I was borne," and the other representing the "Good Haroun Alraschid." The first is fairly good, the second is an almost painful failure. We are inclined to think that Mr. Hunt has no great artistic sense of humour. The poet, having described the magnificent throne of the great Caliph, writes, "Thereon, his deep eye laughter-stirred, with merriment of kingly pride;" but the Haroun of the artist is a solemn old Mussulman in whom laughter would look like a sacrilege. In the illustrations to "The Lady of Shalott" Mr. Hunt is vastly more successful and more at home. In the engraving which accompanies the ballad story of King Cophetua he has given us in the figure and face of the beggar-maid as sweet and dainty a piece of drawing as ever pencil executed. In the drawing which accompanies the ballad of "Oriana" he seems on the other hand to have chosen the worst possible situation for the display of his art. Taking his work in this respect altogether, it is evident that he is somewhat out of his province, though in Wilmot's "Sacred English Poetry" he has one drawing by virtue of which alone he might well claim to stand, if not first, high in the very first rank of artists even in this line. This drawing is in illustration of Archbishop Trench's poem, "The Lost Jewels." The story of the poem is briefly this:—An elderly Jewish Rabbi comes homeward, filled with sweet thoughts of his wife and children. His wife meets him at the door, and propounds to him a problem.

Years ago, a friend had given her to keep for him two jewels of surpassing worth and beauty. She had held them so long that she seemed in her own mind to have acquired a sort of prescriptive right to them, and now the owner had claimed them. What is she to do? she asks her husband. "Can there be a question?" he asks in return; and in reply she leads him to an upper room, where their two children lie dead. In his illustration of this affecting little story the artist seems to have touched the very soul of his theme. The half-grave, half-humorous expression of the Rabbi as he responds to his wife's apparently strange question, and the terrible sadness on the wife's face, are in wonderful contrast. There is a little bit of symbolism here which deserves notice, since it serves to show, in its own small way, that leaning towards poetic simile with which Mr. Hunt's genius is so strongly imbued. In the upper left-hand corner of the picture hangs a torn and empty cage. The intention of this detail is obvious: its touch of pathos adds its last perfection to the work.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

W. E. Forste

The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.

IT was somewhat the fashion a few years ago, both in the House of Commons and outside it, to think and speak of Mr. Forster as a typical Yorkshireman. A certain abruptness of manner, a certain candour of thought and expression are mingled in him with that peculiar shrewdness and common sense which are characteristic of the Yorkshireman of popular fancy. A year or two back the right honourable gentleman—growing possibly a little tired of the repetition of this phrase of characterisation—good-humouredly repudiated it, and in a speech in Committee took occasion to remark that a reference to "Dodd" would convince honourable gentlemen of the fact that he was not a Yorkshireman at all, having been born in the town of Bradpole, in the county of Dorset, and educated at the Friends' School at Tottenham. Notwithstanding this public disclaimer, the idea still lingers in the minds of many people, possibly because it is one of those things which, if not true, deserve to be. An uncompromising plainness of demeanour—a close habit of thought, linked with a loose and homely habit of speech—a tact which makes that very homeliness more suasive than the most polished courtliness could hope to be—a persistency in work which is not equalled by many men of like talent—a patience unflaggingly good-humoured—these are the characteristics which are mainly answerable for that Yorkshire fiction which still holds its place in the public mind. It is helped out, probably, by the facts that Mr. Forster has never represented any other town than Bradford, and that he is by business associated with one of the great trade staples of the big northern county.

Mr. Forster was born in the year 1818 of an old Quaker family, and educated, as we have already shown, in a Quaker seminary. He took an early interest in the progress of public affairs, but first achieved public notice by a journey undertaken in Ireland during the progress of the dreadful famine which devastated many of its counties in the year 1847. One of the results of this visit and of his observations was a nervously-written statement of the condition of the country, which he prepared in company with several of the Friends who accompanied him. In the course of that statement he writes:—"When we entered a village our first question was, 'How many deaths?' '*The hunger is upon us!*' was everywhere the cry, and involuntarily we found ourselves regarding this hunger as we should an epidemic, looking upon starvation as a disease. In fact, as we went along our wonder was, not that the people died, but that they lived. . . . We heard in Galway of little tradesmen secretly begging for soup. The priest cannot get his dues, nor the landlord his rent. The highest and the lowest in the land are forced into sympathy by this all-mastering visitation."

He thus gives judgment on the result of the whole journey upon his own mind:—"The misery of Ireland must increase daily, so far as regards her own resources, for daily they become less. To England must she this year look to save the lives of her children; nor will the need for English aid cease this year. It will be long before, with her utmost effort, she can recover

from this blow, or will be able to support her own population. She must be a grievous burden on our resources, in return for long centuries of neglect and oppression." He concludes his report in the following impassioned sentences, which are, perhaps, all the more worthy of quotation because they are written by a man who does not often choose to express himself vehemently:—"Of this one fact," he writes, "there can be no question, that the result of our social system is that vast numbers of our fellow-countrymen—of the peasantry of one of the richest nations the world ever knew—have not leave to live. Surely such a social result as this is not only a national misfortune, but a national sin, crying loudly to every Christian citizen to do his best to remove it. No one of us can have a right to enjoy either riches or repose until, to the extent of his ability, he strive to wash himself of all share in the guilt of this fearful inequality, which will be a blot in the history of our country, and make her a byword among the nations."

It was not until the April of 1859 that he attempted to secure a place in Parliament, when he contested Leeds in the Liberal interest. He was on that occasion defeated, but in the February of 1861 a vacancy occurred at Bradford, and his candidature for that borough was successful.

Mr. Forster had not been long in the House before he made himself heard upon those questions in which he was himself most keenly interested. He did not, however, as many members of Parliament have done, attempt an oratorical *tour de force*, in the hope of taking a position by storm. He chose rather to speak in a modest and straightforward way on matters of common interest, appearing more frequently in those brief Committee debates, which are after all one of the best tests that the House of Commons has of a man's general abilities, than in any other way. His first speech was delivered in connection with the American Civil War, on the 22nd of February, and occupied only a minute or two in delivery. He made many other equally unimportant appearances during that session, and the House gradually grew accustomed to his presence and his style, and looked naturally for shrewd, business-like advice and native common sense whenever the new member for Bradford rose to speak. Mr. Forster is not by any stretch of language to be described as an orator. His manner is, perhaps, less oratorical than that of any other leading man in the House of Commons. He rather affects a rough style than otherwise, and contents himself with homely language and a homely manner.

In the June of this year (1861) Mr. Forster drew from Lord John Russell an important declaration with respect to the action to be taken by the British Government in regard to privateers sailing under the flag of the so-called Southern Confederacy, by asking whether Her Majesty's Government would exercise the discretion they possessed by the Law of Nations to prevent these privateers from bringing their prizes into any port in Her Majesty's dominions. He did not, he added, ask this question with regard to privateers sailing under the colours of the United States, simply because he had no expectation that any letters of marque would be issued by that Government. Lord John Russell, in answer, said that it had been determined to interdict the entry, with prizes, of the ships of war and privateers of each belligerent to the ports and harbours, both of the United Kingdom and of the colonies and dependencies of Her Majesty. Mr. Forster had previously called attention to this subject, and had succeeded in drawing from Sir George Lewis, then Home Secretary, a declaration of the law upon the question of the employment of British subjects in the privateering ventures of the Southern States.

On the 27th of February, 1862, Mr. Ayrton rose in the House, and asked the Government whether they were prepared to assent to the proposition that the House should resolve itself

into a Committee of the whole House, to consider the best mode of distributing the Parliamentary grants for education administered by the Privy Council. In the course of the discussion which ensued upon this question, Mr. Forster contented himself with remarking that he felt a deep interest in the subject of education, and that he trusted the proposal to discuss the question in an open Committee of the whole House would be acceded to by the Government. Speaking on the same question—the motion for Committee—in the month of March following, he made an important speech in the House, delivering an address of some length. It was very generally felt at the time that the Government had not acted altogether wisely in discarding so freely as they had done the recommendations of the Royal Commission which had been employed in inquiring into the educational condition of the country. Many of the managers of schools, as Mr. Forster pointed out, were members of Dissenting congregations, and by means of subscriptions, often obtained with great trouble, they gave an education not only to those who were children of the members of their own congregation, but to many others. The Wesleyans in their schools also taught a large number of poor children who did not belong to their body. A great proportion of the managers throughout the country were hard-worked and ill-paid curates, and these men not seldom had to deny a fitting and sufficient education to their own children whilst they sacrificed themselves to the education of the children of the poor. In dealing with the question of proposed State aid, and the question of payment by results, Mr. Forster made one or two strong points. When any one of these managers, he remarked, had fulfilled all the costly conditions required by the State as to the means of teaching, he of course expected the State to pay the share it had engaged to pay. But what, he asked, did the right honourable gentleman who laid these propositions before the House say to such a man? "Here is the child of a poor man. You think it is your duty to educate him. I also think it is my duty, and therefore I will help you in this way. If at the end of the year you bring that child to me, and prove that he has been taught in a certain costly building, with certain costly apparatus, and by certain machinery, also costly, by masters who I determine shall be costly, what do you expect?" The manager is of course supposed to reply, "That you will pay me." "No," says the right honourable gentleman, "I shall not pay you unless the child can do a certain amount of reading, writing, and arithmetic; and not only that, but I will have your nine years old child up to the nine years' standard, and your eleven years old child up to the eleven years' standard." The manager in reply says, "I cannot do that; as a child of nine years old may come to me utterly untaught." The right honourable gentleman replies, "I cannot help that; you ought to have got him before." But the manager may add, "I will keep him till twelve or thirteen if you will allow me." The right honourable gentleman replies, "No; I will not pay you a farthing for him if you keep him after eleven, unless, indeed, he choose to go to a night school." That Mr. Forster was very sure the child would not be at all likely to do. "Might it not be expected," he asked, "that if the unfortunate manager were fettered by such conditions, if he found his philanthropic efforts so bound and hampered, he would turn round and say, 'I find you have relieved me of my responsibility. You had better teach the child yourself!'"

This is undoubtedly a strong presentment of Mr. Forster's case for the moment. The sympathies of the uninformed hearer go entirely with that badgered and unfortunate manager, and against the "right honourable gentleman." It is in this particular way that Mr. Forster chooses often to present his strongest points. Recurring to the same strain, he said some time afterwards, in the course of his speech, that he, like many honourable members, was the manager of a school, and if a child who had had no training came to the school, he would say to the master, "Don't neglect that

child; don't care for the clever and well-trained boy rather than for him; work hard for this neglected child." The State ought to act in the same way. Instead, however, they said in effect, "If you get a stupid or an untrained child, do not try to teach him; for if you do you will get nothing by it!"

It was not long before Mr. Forster's position in the House was fairly established; and in the November of 1865 he occupied in Earl Russell's administration the post of Under Secretary for the Colonies. The final attempt which Earl Russell made to complete his scheme of reform failed in the November of 1866, and Mr. Forster's first term of office came to a close. When, after a brief interregnum, the Liberal party returned to power, Mr. Forster was made Vice-President of the Council, and was entrusted with that great educational measure with which his name is now enduringly associated.

In rising to move for leave to bring in a Bill to provide for public elementary education in England and Wales, Mr. Forster spoke of himself as being painfully conscious of a want of facility and clearness of expression. So far as that particular speech went, at least, the consciousness of those defects was confined to the speaker himself. The address is remarkable for its perspicuity and grasp, and not much less noticeable for its brevity. Considering the question with which he had to deal, it is rather surprising that Mr. Forster should have been able to compress his handling of it into so small a space that its verbatim report occupies less than fifteen pages of *Hansard*. The object of the Act Mr. Forster thus introduced was to secure throughout England and Wales the provision of accommodation and appliances for the elementary education of the people, adequate both in quantity and quality. It proposed to secure that object partly through the medium of voluntary schools already existing, or to be afterwards established, and partly by the establishment of rate-aided schools under public School Boards. It aimed, not at the destruction, as some of its magisterial administrators have since agreed to believe, but at the development of the system previously existing, following in a great degree the lines of the old foundations. The conditions on which the schools under the control of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education were, previous to the passing of this Act, assisted by the State, and the nature of the jurisdiction exercised over them by the Education Department may be thus briefly indicated:—Under that system there were two classes of grants to schools. In the first place there were grants called "Building Grants," made towards the cost of erecting, enlarging, improving, or fitting-up elementary schoolrooms and the houses of elementary teachers. In the second place there were "Annual Grants," to defray the current expenses of the schools. The first of these were to cease to be made under the new Act, when its provisions came into full operation, and the necessary schools to be provided for, so far as the State was concerned, by the institution of School Boards. The "Annual Grants" were still to continue, subject to certain prescribed conditions, with which every school must comply in order to be entitled to such grants for the future, and to come within the definition of "a public elementary school." These, speaking briefly, were the modifications under which the existing system was to be allowed to survive the new Act.

The chief opposition to the Bill came from the Birmingham Education League, which advocated "unsectarian education." As their spokesman, Mr. George Dixon, one of the members for Birmingham, and the founder of the League, met the Bill on its second reading by moving an amendment to the effect that "no measure for the elementary education of the people could afford a permanent and satisfactory settlement which left the important question of religious instruction to be determined by the local authorities." Mr. Forster remarked that this amendment was only explicit as to what ought not to be done, but did not attempt to

define what ought to be done, as it was only fair that it should, and he argued from the history of previous schemes, and from the nature of his amendment, that even the mover himself was bound to vote on this occasion against his own resolution. It was easier, he remarked, to advocate "unsectarian education," than to define it, though at the same time he thought it not at all difficult to reach in practice, and he supported it as strongly as any man. Even the numerous Dissenting deputations, from whom he acknowledged to have received a great deal of valuable information, had been unable to agree to a plan to recommend, or to explain consistently how "unsectarian education" was to be interpreted. "Surely," he said, "the time will come when we shall find out how we can agree better on these matters; when men will find out that on the main lines of religion they agree, and that they can teach them in common to their children. Shall we cut off from the future all hope of such an agreement, and say that all those questions which regulate our conduct in life and animate our hopes for the future after death, which form for us the shadow of right and wrong—shall we say that all these are wholly to be excluded from our schools? It is not merely duty to the present and hope for the future, but it is the remembrance of the past which forbids us to exclude religion from the teaching of our schools. I confess I have still in my veins the blood of my Puritan forefathers, and I wonder to hear descendants of the Puritans now talk of religion as if it were the property of any class or condition of men. . . . The English people cling to the Bible, and no measure will be more unpopular than that which declares by Act of Parliament that the Bible shall be absent from the school." Later on in his speech he asked, "What more can the Education League require than they obtain in the Bill? With the exception of the principle of free schools, which does not, I think, meet with much acceptance, there is no principle adopted by the League which cannot be carried out in any locality where the majority of the population desire it; and surely my honourable friend does not wish to push his educational dogmas down the throats of the majority. But wherever the majority of the population believe in his dogmas they can carry them out. This is a Bill in framing which we have endeavoured to carry out two principles—the most perfect protection to the parent, and the securing of the most complete fairness and impartiality in the treatment of all religious denominations."

After twenty-one days of debate, during which Mr. Forster was never absent from his place, the Bill passed its third reading unchanged in principle. There was no division, but Mr. Dixon and Mr. Miall, as the spokesmen of Secularists and Nonconformists, attacked the Government for having roused, whilst obtaining the earnest and almost constant support of the Opposition, the suspicion, distrust, and antagonism of their own most devoted supporters. This brought Mr. Gladstone to the fore. The great Liberal leader had taken the keenest interest in the passing of the measure. The labours of his post had already induced something of that not unnatural irritability of which his opponents, later on, complained, and he rose to his feet declaring that support ceased to be of value when accompanied by reproaches such as these. "I hope," he said, with a somewhat scornful impatience, "that my honourable friend will not continue his support to the Government one moment longer than he deems it consistent with his sense of duty and right. For God's sake, sir, let him withdraw it the moment he thinks it better for the cause he has at heart that he should do so!"

The Bill was received with general approval by the House of Lords. The question of the introduction of the ballot was much canvassed both in the Upper and the Lower House, and an amendment, moved by the Duke of Richmond, that the election by ballot should be confined to the metropolis, but that in all other districts the election should be conducted in the same manner

as that of Poor Law guardians, was carried on a division, and agreed to by the Commons. With no other alteration, the Elementary Education Bill became the law of the country—a measure whose results cannot yet be estimated, and whose importance cannot well be exaggerated. A contemporary writer sarcastically remarks, after commenting on the importance of the measure, that "it was reserved for the constituency of Bradford to give the first striking proof in connection with it, of the value of continuous and disinterested labour in a national cause. It is difficult to credit the fact that Mr. Forster was rewarded by his constituents, on his meeting them some months after, by a vote of censure." It should not, however, be forgotten that party feeling ran high at the time with respect to the question of Biblical as against secular teaching, and that Mr. Forster deliberately and conscientiously set himself in opposition to the strong feeling of many of his constituents, and of many of the most ardent supporters of the Liberal party.

Soon after the commencement of the session of 1871, Mr. Forster introduced a Ballot Bill, and before Easter it was by arrangement read a second time without a division. In consequence of the prolonged debates on the Army Bill, it was found impossible to go on with the measure until late in June. When it was proceeded with, it was under conditions which produced a new form of conflict between the Ministry on the one hand and the Opposition on the other. After five-and-thirty years of opposition to the principle of secret voting, Mr. Gladstone became a convert, and declared that the Bill must and should pass before the close of the session. In this hope he was disappointed, and it cannot be maintained that there was any pressing necessity for the immediate passing of the measure at that time. But the Liberal party had been seriously disunited by the failures and divisions of the session, and the Ministry saw in this measure a means of re-union of which it would have been unwise not to avail themselves. Some Conservatives, on their side, met the emergency by taking advantage of the forms of the House, and talking against time on every possible occasion, and endeavoured by this and similar means night after night to burke the Bill. Up to the time of its going into Committee, it had appeared to please the Liberals as little as the Conservatives, for of two hundred amendments on the notice paper, one half were proposed by the supporters of the Government. But the tactics of the Opposition then became apparent. Mr. Joshua Fielden, the member for the Eastern Division of the West Riding, was the first, directly the House had resolved itself into Committee, to make a long speech against the Bill—a speech of such a character as only to be appropriate to a second reading. Others—including Lord John Manners—adopted the same course. Mr. Forster remonstrated, and endeavoured to bring the House to reason. Lord Claud Hamilton went in for a dissertation on things in general, and wound up his speech by declaring that honourable members asked for the ballot, not to prevent bribery, but to cloak it. "Impunity was their object, and persistency in evil practices their desire." Mr. Beresford Hope and Mr. George Bentinck attacked Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli indiscriminately. The amount of talk that session was something almost unprecedented. Hansard's "Debates," condensed as they are, show five volumes for the year in place of the ordinary three, and the volumes themselves are of a stouter kind than usual. The course of opposition adopted demanded an equally extraordinary course on the part of the supporters of the Government. At a meeting held in Downing Street, and attended by 274 Liberal members, to deliberate on the best means of ensuring the success of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone induced his adherents to withdraw their amendments. He did more, for he persuaded them to abstain from discussing the merits of the Bill, or the vexatious amendments of the Opposition. Thus, on the resumption of the debate, a curious scene occurred. Mr. Newdegate rose, with his distinguishing gravity, to conclude a speech which had been broken off by the

adjournment of the previous sitting. The Liberal party gradually left the House, until only six of its members remained—three of them being seated on the Treasury bench. Presently two or three Opposition members crossed the House, and took their places on the vacated seats. Their example was followed by others, and in a short time a considerable body of Conservatives had migrated, and settled themselves on the Liberal benches below the gangway.

The course thus begun was resolutely pursued by the Ministerial party, whose calculated silence naturally excited the resentment of their opponents; and a few of the members of the Opposition, with a pugnacity scarcely excusable, carried on a one-sided fight against the measure for five or six weeks. Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Lowther, and the two Messrs. Bentinck, were quite indefatigable and unceasing in their assaults on the Government, and Mr. Forster fought a single-handed combat in defence, and held the position with untired patience. The enormous amount of the work devolving upon him may be conjectured from the fact that he positively addressed the House, in and out of Committee—and never speaking without positive necessity—in no fewer than 231 speeches. Some of them were very brief—just a word or two and down again—but others were of some importance, even in regard to length. When the provisions with respect to secret voting were at last adopted, several of the more independent of the Liberal members began to take part in the discussion. Mr. (now Sir Henry) James, and Mr. (now Sir William) Harcourt, led a charge against the Government, which resulted in their defeat on the question of charging the rates with election expenses. Some of the other clauses of the Bill were withdrawn, notwithstanding an indignant remonstrance from Professor Fawcett, and at last, at the close of the session, the remainder of the Bill was sent up to the House of Lords. Its fate had been pretty clearly foreseen, and nobody was very much surprised when it was defeated by a majority of two to one. Only forty-eight peers voted for the Bill, the rest of the Liberal peers preferring to stay away. Ninety-seven voted against the Bill, which was thus lost for the year. In the following session it was carried, and was first tested at Pontefract, when Lord Pollington contested that borough against Mr. Childers. With the final dismissal of this measure Mr. Forster found his hands cleared of probably the most laborious piece of work he had ever undertaken. The patience and courage, the promptitude and fidelity he displayed in the conduct of the measure through the House of Commons were worthy of all praise.

In the year 1873 Mr. Forster introduced an alteration into the law of elementary education. Boards of Guardians were at that time prohibited from making the education of the children of paupers a condition of outdoor relief. Mr. Forster's Bill reversed the law, and transferred from the School Boards to the Guardians the duty of determining whether the fees of indigent children should be paid out of the rates. When the intention of the Government was made public some Boards of Guardians resisted the change; and other opponents raised the sentimental objection, that parents would be pauperised by a receipt of aid which would, in fact, prove that they were paupers. Mr. Forster yielded to the pressure, but he steadily refused to comply with the demands of the Birmingham Educational League, that fees should not be paid out of the rates to denominational schools. Mr. Fawcett, in one of the most powerful speeches of the session, denounced the intolerance of the League, though he himself was and is an advocate of secular education. Mr. Forster's Bill, in its curtailed form, was finally passed by a majority of nearly four to one, though Mr. Torrens, in behalf of the ratepayers, combined his forces with the thorough-going sectarians represented by Mr. Richards.

In the session of 1872 the Education Act seemed likely to cost the Liberal party somewhat dear, since the Nonconformist section, which was at that time singularly influential and active,

threatened to secede unless its demands were allowed. The menace proved innocuous, for other considerations than those of education were involved, and it was generally felt that there were other principles quite as well worth supporting which would be damaged by such a course of action as that contemplated. Mr. Dixon, however, brought formally before the House of Commons a vote of censure on the Elementary Education Act, and found a seconder in Mr. Richards. Mr. Forster met the motion by an amendment to the effect that a sufficient length of time had not been allowed to elapse since the passing of the Act to permit of an accurate judgment upon its working qualities. He urged strongly the inexpediency of throwing the whole educational machinery out of gear at that moment. He described the difficulties and labours of the Educational Office in getting the Act into operation; and in relating what had been done, he pointed out that ten millions of the population had already come under the operation of the Act—six millions of them voluntarily. Over the religious difficulty Mr. Forster passed somewhat lightly; contenting himself with a protest that the country was not prepared for the secular system, as was shown by what the School Boards had recently done. In conclusion, he defended the impartiality of the Department in working the Act; and after a lengthened argument, in which many of the most prominent members of the House took part, Mr. Dixon's motion was negatived, and Mr. Forster's amendment accepted.

When, in the beginning of the year 1875, Mr. Gladstone retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, Mr. Forster's merits were freely canvassed, and he was in many quarters confidently looked upon as his successor. There were many difficulties in the way of his acceptance, however, and he very wisely declined to be put in nomination for the post. He would, no doubt, have made as efficient a leader as any member of the party who was at that time eligible, but it is probable that the jealousies of some others who occupied seats on the front Opposition bench would have still further disintegrated the already scattered and broken Liberal forces.

Speaking on Tuesday, the 22nd February, 1876, on the question of the Slave Circular, Mr. Forster contrived to preserve that shrewd calm which is one of his best characteristics, and to view the matter under discussion without being in the slightest degree affected either by party bias, or by that enthusiasm which led to such unmeasured condemnation of the proceedings of the Ministry. As a member of a past Government, which had itself made a mistake in the same direction, he admitted readily that it was impossible to turn this into a party question. He good-humouredly declared that he accepted his share of the Ministerial responsibility for Lord Clarendon's letter of 1870; just as Mr. Disraeli had previously declared that he accepted his share of the responsibility of the Slave Circular issued without his knowledge by a subordinate officer of the Crown. He concluded by appealing to the House, with more than his usual warmth, not to fetter the Commission which had been appointed to inquire into the question by allowing the Circular to continue in existence; and he asked them to declare in the meantime that if any miserable slave, man or woman, in any way, or under any circumstances, had once been admitted to the protection of the British flag, that slave should be treated as a free man or woman by the representative of our Queen, our rule, our principles, and our freedom.

Mr. Forster visited America during the latter part of 1874. He married, in 1850, the eldest daughter of the late Dr. Arnold, the distinguished head-master of Rugby.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

The Duke of Sutherland.

SIR George Granville William Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, K.G., Duke of Sutherland, Marquess of Stafford, Earl Gower, Viscount Trentham, Baron Gower of Stittenham, in the peerage of England; Earl of Sutherland, Baron of Strathnaver, in the peerage of Scotland; Baronet and Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Sutherland, N.B., is perhaps the luckiest representative of the most fortunate family in England. Beyond the fact that he was born on the 19th of December, 1828; that he succeeded to his dukedom just fourteen years ago; that he married Miss Anne Hay, daughter of John Mackenzie, Esq., of Cromartie, and representative of the old Earls of that ilk; there is but little publicly known about His Grace's career. He has taken no very open part in political life, yet he wields a political force which no premier could safely afford to ignore. He has never got into trouble by interfering with elections, yet it would be extremely hard for any one at enmity with the House of Sutherland to become the Parliamentary representative of the northern burghs. He is a favourite at Court, yet he is respected by the people. He is the greatest, and very nearly the richest landowner in the country, yet he is not the victim of that envy and detraction which continually dog the steps of opulence in democratic nations. On both sides of the house he can claim descent from anointed kings, for through his ancestress, the wife of Granville, second Earl Gower, he can trace his pedigree from the Princess Mary of Tudor and Henry VIII.; whilst his grandmother was the last representative of a long line of belted earls whose ancestress was a daughter of the Bruce. Notwithstanding all this, the present Duke of Sutherland is understood to be deeply imbued with democratic sympathies; he has always been a firm friend of popular freedom, and he has earned an honourable reputation as the patron of enslaved races, and the helper of oppressed nationalities. To be one of the chosen companions and most respected advisers of the Prince of Wales (whom he accompanied during his visit to India in 1875–6), the generous host and princely entertainer of Garibaldi, indicate a nature of wonderful breadth and liberality of sentiment in a man. Yet the Duke of Sutherland can claim to have played all these parts in life. Perhaps such discordant characteristics, taken in connection with the almost reckless daring with which he sometimes works as an amateur in the rank and file of the metropolitan fire brigades (in the engines of which he has greatly interested himself in developing many improvements, particularly the introduction of steam), have won for His Grace a wide-spread reputation for what is sometimes called eccentricity. Certain it is that there is no member of the aristocracy so often talked about. Yet there is hardly any English noble who, as regards political life, has so sedulously hidden his light under a bushel. Though the Duke of Sutherland has sat in both Houses of Parliament, he has never made a figure in either. Save that he has always been thought to have democratic leanings, His Grace has practically ignored politics, as far at least as it is possible for one of the princeliest landowners in the country to do so. Somebody has said that in times of excitement

England is ruled by its people, but in times of quiet it is governed by its property. In this sense, of course, the Duke of Sutherland may be regarded as one of the most effective influences in the land. He wields a collective political and social power through his property and family connections in three kingdoms second to none enjoyed by the head of any other great governing race in the land.

Perhaps there is nothing so curious in the history of our country as the rise and progress of the house of which the Duke of Sutherland is now the head. The Gowers have risen to their gorgeous social position with strange rapidity. Only two hundred and fifty years ago they were but plain country baronets. In a few years their descendants will be in possession of four dukedoms, three earldoms, and a barony. The extraordinary feature about this wondrous family history is that the Gowers have never made any deep mark in the political or social development of the nation. They have all been marvellously respectable men, not conspicuously brilliant, but always extremely prudent and upright. Yet their quick advance in the ranks of the peerage is not to be explained by the fact that they conferred on the country any very marked or notable public benefits. They won no great battles by land or sea. They wrote no books which the world will not willingly let die. They never linked their names in immortal association with the progress of scientific discovery or mechanical invention. They did not gain brilliant diplomatic triumphs abroad, nor were they successful and daring Parliamentary chiefs at home. They have, in point of fact, acquired their present proud position mainly by the good luck that seems to be an appanage of their house, and in virtue of which they have in each generation been fortunate enough to contract a series of wonderfully rich and powerful matrimonial alliances. It is not only the destiny of the Gowers to marry, but it is their fate to marry money as well as rank. Even when they ally themselves with what the Scots call "tocherless" brides, these ladies seem, sooner or later, by the changing accidents of life, to inherit either a desirable property or proud and ancient titles. The fourth baronet, Sir William Leveson-Gower, for example, did not appear to fulfil the traditional destiny of his family when he married the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of John Granville, Earl of Bath. She was not a particularly wealthy bride, but even here the old Gower luck did not desert the family. The House of Bath became extinct in the male line, and Sir William Leveson-Gower's bride became co-heir to her nephew, William Henry, the last Earl, and thus a lion's share of the vast possessions of the Granvilles came to the Leveson-Gowers. Then again, the present Duke of Sutherland could hardly be said to have "married money" when he chose for his wife Miss Anne Hay Mackenzie, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Mr. John Mackenzie of Newhall and Cromartie. But on the death of her father this lady succeeded to his property, and thus became the last lineal representative of the old Earls of Cromartie. Her present Majesty was pleased, on the accession of the Duke of Sutherland to his family honours and possessions, to revive the Earldom of Cromartie, attainted for treason during the Scottish Rebellion of '45. The Duchess of Sutherland was made Countess of Cromartie and Baroness Macleod, the succession to go to the Duke of Sutherland's second son, who now takes the courtesy title of Viscount Tarbat. It would indeed seem impossible for the Gower family to make either imprudent or unhappy marriages. The records of this great house throw much light on the secret of their prosperity, which, after all, is the same as that which explains success in humbler walks of life. The huge estates and powerful connections the family now possess are due to the circumstance that the representatives of it have never been profligate spendthrifts, but prudent, honest, good-hearted men and women, careful of their means, living within their incomes, and always shunning foolish entangling alliances that so seldom bring

anything but misery in their train. Steady perseverance in this safe and modest course of life, carried on from generation to generation, has placed the descendants of Sir Thomas Gower of Stittenham, who two hundred and fifty years ago was but an unassuming country baronet, in possession of eight or nine of the proudest coronets in the peerage of England.

Some say the first of the race was a Norman, who got the nucleus of the family lands in Yorkshire after the Conquest. On the other hand, many assert, and not without some show of plausibility, that the family is of Anglo-Saxon origin. A delusion prevailed at one time that "ancient Gower," the successor of Chaucer, and one of the fathers of English poetry, was the founder of this house, but this is not the case. The armorial bearings of the old poet show that he belongs to another family altogether, probably that of Sir R. Gower, who was buried at Brabourne, in Kent, in the time of Edward III. During the reign of this monarch, however, the Gowers of Stittenham were people of local consequence and dignity. Sir Nicholas, for example, sat in Parliament as Knight of the Shire for the County of York. Previous to this there was one, Lawrence Gower who distinguished himself in Edward II.'s time. He and Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, were concerned in the execution of Piers Gaveston, and had to get the king's pardon on that account. The great grandson of Lawrence Gower, whom we have mentioned, took a stout and lusty share in the wars that were waged during the reigns of Henry V. and VI. He probably might have known Sir John Falstaff. In Shakespeare's play of *Henry V.* there is a Gower mentioned—a stately, honourable, and highly-trusted officer, whom Fluellen is fain to call his friend, and of whom he testifies that he is "a good captain, and is good knowledged and literatured in the wars." He it was who moderated in the famous dispute between the choleric Welshman and Captain Macmorris, concerning that question about which their Scottish friend, Captain Jamy, was so anxious to hear them debate. If it be the Duke of Sutherland's ancestor whom the great dramatist has in his eye, then he must have known Nym, Bardolph, and Pistol, the latter of whom he unmasked as "an arrant counterfeit rascal; a rogue that now and then goes to the wars, to grace himself at his return into London under the form of a soldier." Of similar mettle was his brother and heir, Sir John Gower, who followed the fortunes of the House of Lancaster, and was taken prisoner by the Yorkists, in the fatal field of Tewkesbury. Sir John was one of the victims of the barbarous policy of revenge pursued by the victorious partisans of York, and his loyalty to the cause of his liege lord cost him his head. Still the old Gower luck prevailed again, and the cloud of royal disfavour that lowered upon the family soon passed away. We find the grandson of this Sir John turning up in local records as Receiver-General of Berwick and Governor of Wark. He, too, was a sturdy soldier, and appears to be one of the few members of the family who could be described as rash, for the old chroniclers narrate of him he was a man of "too much forwardness in battle." He did good service when the Protector Somerset invaded Scotland. He took a distinguished part in the battle of Pinkie, and, probably through foolhardy valour, was taken prisoner by the defeated Scots.

The next member of the family that springs into notice is a namesake of the preceding one, Thomas Gower of Stittenham, who took the first step upwards in the social ladder, to the topmost pinnacle of which his descendants have so perseveringly scaled. He got a baronetcy from James I. of England, in 1620, and with him begins that series of brilliant marriages which has led the Gowers on, stage by stage, to a dukedom. Sir Thomas married the daughter of John Doyley, of Merton, a gentleman of great wealth, whose property mostly all passed into the hands of his daughter. His son, who was the second baronet, became a steadfast adherent of King Charles I., taking part in the attack on Hull, and raising a regiment of dragoons at his own expense. He married twice: first, the daughter of Sir William Howard (ancestor of the Castle Howards), and, after her death, Frances,

second daughter of Sir John Leveson, of Halling, in the county of Kent. This was the second step the Gower family took on the road to opulence. The Levesons were extremely wealthy people, so much so that they are by some supposed, probably from the peculiar form of their surname, to be of Semitic descent, hence, we may remark in passing, to distinguish it from the Jewish "Levyson," the name is nowadays pronounced in polite society as if it were spelt "Leuson." Be that as it may, the Leveson family is so very old that it is hard to say how it arose, and when the Gowers married into it, Sir Thomas Leveson had large possessions both in Kent and Shropshire. These, however, did not come into the hands of the Gowers till the next baronet, Sir Thomas Gower, grandson of Frances Leveson and the second baronet, died in the Royalist camp at Dundalk. Then the succession devolved upon the uncle of the deceased, William, second son of Sir Thomas Gower and Frances Leveson. This gentleman was made heir to the Leveson possessions by his mother's uncle, and he accordingly assumed that name, in addition to his own. With him the family of Leveson-Gower begins; with him it starts into political existence as one of the great governing houses of England. Sir William Leveson-Gower was a Whig, or, at least, had Whig sympathies. We find him not only sitting in Parliament for Newcastle-on-Tyne, but also figuring as one of those opulent persons who became bail for the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. In contracting an alliance with the daughter of the Earl of Bath, he ultimately became, through his wife, co-heir to the great estates of that house when the last earl died. Sir William was succeeded by his son, Sir John Leveson-Gower, fifth Baronet, the first of the family who figures very conspicuously in Parliamentary life. He impeached the Earl of Portland at the bar of the House of Commons, and, in 1703, he was elevated to the peerage, as Baron Gower of Stittenham. He was one of a batch of wealthy supporters of the Government of the day who were put into the Upper House as ministerial packing, for, in the early part of Queen Anne's reign, a very few votes on either side in the Lords turned the scale in a division. He married a daughter of the Duke of Rutland, who brought him a dowry of £15,000. In 1709 he died, and was succeeded by his son, John, second Lord Gower. This peer was, perhaps, the most celebrated of the whole family in politics. He was of a vacillating turn of mind, and won a most unenviable reputation as a trimmer. The famous Dr. Johnson had him in his eye when he told Mr. Boswell that, in giving the ordinary definition of a "renegade," in the MS. of his dictionary, he added, "We sometimes say, instead of renegade, 'a Gower.'" Had it not been for a shrewd printer, who struck out the little personality before going to press, Lord Gower's name would have been unpleasantly embalmed in the great lexicographer's work. This nobleman was Lord Privy Seal. When he married the Lady Gertrude, a daughter of the Duke of Bedford, he completely came under the influence of that wily politician. His loyalty during the Scottish Rebellion led to King George creating him, in 1746, Viscount Trentham and Earl Gower. His son, Granville, second Earl Gower, made a brilliant match when he married the daughter of the first Duke of Bridgwater, a descendant of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and also of the Princess Mary of Tudor. This was one of the luckiest of all the Gower marriages. It gave the family the right to quarter the Royal Arms on their shield. It ultimately brought to them one of the fattest slices of the huge estates of the house of Bridgwater. In 1775, Earl Gower was made Lord Privy Seal, and he held various offices whilst the Bedford party were in power. He was one of those enlightened politicians who stood out against Lord North's policy of continuing the American War, and resigned office in consequence. Indeed, he was a person of so much consequence that he was twice offered and he twice refused the Premiership. He ultimately became Marquess of Stafford. His successor was George Granville, second Marquess of Stafford, and, in his matrimonial relations, he eclipsed all his predecessors. He wooed and won the youthful Countess of Sutherland, the last representative of the most ancient earldom in

the country. Through her more than one-half of the county of Sutherland was added to the possessions of the Leveson-Gowers. The second Marquess of Stafford acted, for a time, with Pitt, but gradually gravitated towards the Whig party, and became one of the staunchest of Liberals. After the first Reform Bill, for distinguished services to the cause of the people, he was made Duke of Sutherland. His successor, the second duke, lived a very retired life, the immense social and political power of the house being wielded during his lifetime by the duchess, who was a great favourite of her present Majesty. She held the office of Mistress of the Robes, and it was believed she had as much to do with making or marring the fortunes of cabinets as any of the vacillating Parliamentary majorities of the day. In 1861, the present duke succeeded to his father, and his wife was created Countess of Cromartie, Viscountess Tarbat, and Baroness Macleod and Castlehaven.

So far we have traced the wonderful fortunes of the Leveson-Gowers, or, as they are now called, the Sutherland-Leveson-Gowers, through the two centuries and a half during which they leaped from a baronetcy to a dukedom. We must now briefly sketch the personal career of the present representative of the family. At the outset we remarked there was very little to say about His Grace; yet he has done some notable and good work in the world. Under his genial influence Stafford House, the seat of the family in London, has become a centre of great social power. Here the illustrious foreigner meets with those regal hospitalities which so astonished His Majesty the Shah of Persia during his visit to London, and which caused him confidentially to remark to the Prince of Wales, "Of course, when you come to the throne, you will——" (here His Highness looked in the direction of the Duke of Sutherland, and significantly drew his finger across his throat). Stafford House has long been the centre of many wholesome social influences; its magnificent hall is never shut to the philanthropist who has a cause to advocate, or to an inventor who has a discovery to explain, if the scheme promises to be of real use and benefit to the world. The grand hall of this ducal palace, the walls of which are adorned with the master-pieces of Italian art, affords a splendid stage, from which the philanthropist and inventor may appeal to society, for it has all the advantages of a place of public meeting, combined with the dignity of a resort where the proudest aristocracy delight to congregate. Since the days when her present Majesty came to the throne, Stafford House became a power in the land. It was the choice gathering place of "the Queen's friends," as they were maliciously called by the old Tory party of the past; and to be a client of Stafford House was then to be on the topmost wave of the tide that led on to social and political fortune. When an Earl of Carlisle wanted an Irish Viceroyalty, it was Stafford House that got it for him. When Francis Leveson-Gower, second son of the first Duke of Sutherland, to whom went the greater part of the Bridgwater property, assumed the name of Egerton, and wanted the earldom of Ellesmere, it was through the influence of Stafford House the title was procured. Even a Cabinet has been disconcerted in trying to oppose a duchess of this great house retaining office as Mistress of the Robes. The name of the present Duke of Sutherland, however, is not associated much with political or social intrigue. He is a simple-minded, fair, frank, handsome man, on whom his years sit lightly, with a youthful, generous heart, a cheery, ringing voice, and pleasant, honest, winning ways, that endear him to all who know him. If he has any peculiar characteristic, it is that he is a model landlord, the best type of the man who is inspired with the great idea that property has its duties as well as its rights. He has spent his whole life in developing the resources of the great possessions now in his hands. A most useful book might be written on the history of the Sutherland estates as they were and as they are, especially those possessions of the family in the north of Scotland, about which rival schools of political economists have so frequently wrangled and raved. Much absurd abuse has been heaped upon the family for their "evictions" in Sutherland. The plain truth is that when the first

duke came into this property he found it covered by clansmen, in such numbers that the land, as it was then tilled, was quite incapable of supporting them. The greater part of Sutherland is quite unfit for agriculture, save, perhaps, a few patches along the coast, and in the main straths and valleys. The miserable peasantry who attempted to grub up a livelihood from the barren rocks, or the sour, boggy, and unkindly soil, led a life of chronic famine. Even in 1630, Sir Robert Gordon wrote that the country was "moir suited for bestiall than cornes;" and though strong attempts have been made to persuade the world that Sutherland was a sort of Celtic paradise, from which the people were driven forth by a harsh and grasping lord, the real truth is very different. The condition of the Sutherland property when it came into the late duke's hands is well described by Pennant, who wrote not long before the alleged expulsion of the peasantry from their wretched holdings took place. "This tract," says Pennant, "seems to be the residence of sloth; the people are almost torpid with idleness, and most wretched; their hovels most miserable. . . . . Till famine pinches them they will not bestir themselves. They are content with little at present, and are thoughtless of futurity, perhaps on the motive of Turkish vassals, who are oppressed in proportion to their improvements. Dispirited, and driven to despair by bad management, crowds were now passing, emaciated with hunger, to the eastern coast, on the report of a ship being there laden with meal. Numbers of the miserables of that country are now emigrating. They wander in a state of desperation; too poor to pay, they madly sell themselves for their passage, preferring a temporary bondage in a strange land to starving for life on their native soil." Sutherland, in those old days, had no roads or bridges. Tillage was of the most savage description, and generally done by the women, the men, as old Sir Robert Gordon puts it, thinking labour "a disparagement unto their gentilitie." One year in every three they were the victims of famine, and the condition of trade may be judged when it is stated there was not a single shop in the county. To this state of matters the first Duke of Sutherland and his duchess determined to put an end. Their great idea was to transplant the people from the glens, where they were starving, to the coasts, where they might make a living by fishing or otherwise, and with princely generosity they did all they could to start the migrated clansmen in life. But it was no use: these ignorant people preferred to starve rather than work or fish for a living anywhere but in their wretched valleys. Neither duke or duchess could tolerate a growing population of paupers within their domains, and so those who would not work were told they must go elsewhere. The Sutherland family paid the cost of shipping them to America, which is a good deal more than most Highland proprietors did in similar circumstances for their vassals. In this manner the excess of a pauper population was got rid of, and sheep-farming introduced into the country. We need not now stop to inquire whether the "clearances" of the Sutherland Highlanders were effected in too wholesale a manner. Perhaps the old duke did not sufficiently recognise the utility and functions of middle-sized and small holdings. The present duke, however, with remarkable ability and enterprise, is completing the great work his grandfather left imperfect. His policy now is to create small and middle-sized farms in due proportion to the large ones. Though ignorant persons are continually making the rash assertion that Sutherland has all been thrown into large farms, there is no county in Scotland that has so great a percentage of small holdings or crofts not exceeding twenty acres in extent. That Sutherland is the better for the "clearances," about which so much nonsense has been written, is obvious. Before the first duke's time, so far from producing food for the country, it could not grow enough to feed its own starving population. Now it not only produces enough for its own people, but exports largely animal food for the use of its neighbours. It is very often said the policy of the Sutherland family has depopulated the county. As a matter of fact, there are far more people in it now than there were

previous to the evictions. That, during the period which has elapsed since the evictions occurred, the population has had a slight tendency to decrease, may be admitted; but the "clearances" had, probably, nothing to do with this. In every county in Scotland a similar decrease of rural population is observed, going on, we may add, side by side with an increase in the inhabitants of the towns.

We have said that the present Duke of Sutherland deserves a place in the rural records of his country as the model landlord of Scotland. The wonderful courage with which he has poured money into his barren northern possessions, the pertinacity with which he follows out his policy of not so much reclaiming as creating land, and attracting to the county, four-fifths of which belong to him, a large and industrious population, are facts unfortunately not well enough known to the public at large. His Grace has set himself, for example, to achieve the daring task of reclaiming from the wilderness a large area of waste land, at an estimated expense of £25 per acre. This enterprise has already attracted some attention from economists and agriculturists. As yet the duke is confining his operations mainly to the parish of Lairg, where he began work in 1873. Here, at a height of 300 feet above the level of the sea, and 20 miles from it, there lies a lake, about 20 miles long, called Loch Shin. Its great catchment basin, or area of drainage, includes a huge tract of country which the Duke of Sutherland thinks may be converted from a desert into arable land. Of course such an undertaking would be beyond the reach of ordinary private enterprise, for the adverse circumstances that have to be dealt with are both numerous and discouraging. The wealth and energy of His Grace, however, are being freely expended in this grand enterprise. It is supposed that the original estimate of £25 per acre has been rather exceeded, for much of the early work was tentative, and involved considerable outlay in the form of experiments in engines and other machinery. At the present moment these works afford employment for over 300 people belonging to the district, but the heavy operations are all done by means of steam-cultivators, each one of which, with its gear of steel-rope, &c., costs £1,000. There are twelve of these powerful engines at work just now, besides a steam stonebreaker for macadamising roads, a road traction-engine, and a steamboat on the loch, for towing lime-laden barges from the quarries to the kilns. The results so far may be briefly summed up in the words of the Rev. Dr. Joass, of Golspie, a learned and accomplished naturalist and antiquary, to whose kindness we are indebted for much valuable information on this subject. "Where lately," writes the doctor, "nothing but heather and swamp grass grew over a rugged surface thickly strewn with boulders, in some cases several tons in weight, now between 3,000 and 4,000 acres of land have been reclaimed, fenced, and divided by judiciously-placed belts of trees. Three large and well-appointed farmsteadings have been erected, with dwelling-houses and cottages *en suite*; a church and school have been established, and a preacher appointed, who conducts the weekly services in English and Gaelic." It is a most interesting experiment, and one worthy of Vermuddyen, to whose genius the reclamation of the Lincolnshire fens is due. It is no small claim to grateful remembrance a man can allege, when, like the present Duke of Sutherland, he is able to say that during every year which passes by he is adding 1,000 acres to the food-producing soil of his native country.

Of the other great enterprises undertaken by the duke, perhaps the most notable is that of railway extension. His Grace is well known to have helped with his influence and purse nearly every useful undertaking of this sort in the land—indeed, it is a common subject of remark that he can travel from Dunrobin to London as a director over the various lines of railway that stretch between those two points. Had it not been for his energy and liberality

the northern terminus of our railway system would have fallen fully 100 miles short of its present point; indeed, the duke absolutely built at his own expense the line which connects Golspie with Helmsdale, a distance of about seventeen miles. Not very long ago he took a party of Staffordshire engineers, who were his guests, over this line, constructed at his own charges, and drove the engine in person which carried them along. The mineral resources of Sutherland have not been neglected by the duke. He lately made a vigorous, but not very successful, effort to work some gold-fields that lie in a tract about 10 miles square, through which three streamlets run N.E. into the river Ullie and Helmsdale Water. In this district (Kildonan) gold-dust was found, by washing the gravel or drift-earth along the courses of these "burns" or rivulets. At one time 400 miners, from all parts of the world between California and Point de Galle, settled and worked "claims" in this auriferous tract, and they recovered, probably, about £12,000 worth of the precious metal from the soil. The works were stopped, however, owing to the imposition of a heavy crown royalty, and all the Duke of Sutherland got out of his scheme was the luxury of paying compensation to his tenant-farmers for damages done during the operations. It is hoped, however, that His Grace's last mining enterprise will be a more fortunate venture. He has determined to set at rest for ever the question whether, in the great Brora field, coal can be profitably worked. This deposit occurs in the Lower Oolite, which, says the learned Dr. Joass, "forms part of a narrow belt of Jurassic rocks, extending from Dunrobin, along the coast, to the Ord of Caithness," a distance of about 20 miles. The seam of lignite at Brora is 3½ feet thick, and, therefore, the largest of its age in Britain. It was first worked on a small scale in 1624. Twice since then operations have been begun, and now, under the present duke, another attempt, of a more extensive nature, is being made to develop this source of wealth. Had the high price of southern coal continued, the Brora mineral would have taken a good place in the market. Meantime, it is employed chiefly in local industries, such as brick-making and lime-burning. It is also used for the furnaces of the steam saw-mills which employ large numbers of the resident population. Whether this coal-field will succeed as a source of remunerative labour it is impossible to say. The Duke of Sutherland, however, has done all in his power to deserve success, and everybody connected with the north of Scotland wishes him well in his noble undertaking. From what we have said, it is clear that His Grace will probably occupy a place in the industrial annals of the North similar to that which the great engineering Duke of Bridgwater holds in those of England. As yet his schemes have chiefly consisted of outlay, but they are fast bringing wealth and population to his property. Perhaps his descendants may reap the rich reward of the daring and public-spirited ventures that have won for him the reputation of being the most popular duke in the empire.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Mr. Lewis, Photographer, Douglas, Isle of Man.*]

Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P.

In speaking of the senior member for Bristol, the worst informed and the most narrow-minded commentator would scarcely deny him such honours as are usually accorded to successful men of the world, whose careers exemplify what is supposed to be the essentially practical side of the nation's genius. Strong will, clear foresight, sagacious energy, as well as definiteness of aim, these qualities are so conspicuous in the character of Mr. Samuel Morley, that only wilful paradox could gainsay his possession of them. It would be almost equally absurd to question the earnestness of his opinions, or the largeness of his philanthropy. But even depth of conviction and universality of benevolence can be imagined to exist in a self-contained nature, slow to the promptings of personal sympathy. There have been excellent men whose confidential friends were few, if even they ever had any, and who yet warmed towards mankind in the mass; men who would rather endow a church or a charity than help an old playmate out of a hobble, or, at the cost of a few guineas, send striving merit on its way, hopeful and rejoicing. To see but a little of Mr. Samuel Morley is to know that he is not one of these. Comprehensive and general as are the plans in which he is prominently concerned for all kinds of well-doing, and methodical as the course of his benevolence may be, there is far more impulsiveness in this gentleman's warm-hearted nature than might be supposed outside the circle in which he is personally known. A little reflection will lessen that too common difficulty of supposing any relationship of tenderness and force in the moral composition of a "practical man." The more we see of such men, the more we shall find that their seemingly dissimilar traits and tendencies are not only reconcilable but actually akin.

> "And bless'd are those
> Whose blood and judgment are so well co-mingled
> That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger,
> To sound what stop she pleases."

The calmest judgment is, in Mr. Morley's case, closely bound up with those warm feelings which the poet assumes—not with extravagance of poetical fancy or imagination—to run with the blood. But for men so constituted—men through whose veins course the manliest, noblest, quickest emotions, while their worldly philosophy enables them to take "Fortune's buffets and rewards with equal thanks"—England would not have been the England of which we are too proud to deny her faults, or to brook denial of her virtues.

Mr. Samuel Morley is the very type of an Englishman. It may be, that by ancestry, he comes a little close to one of those nationalities which we English are all fain to include, either recently or remotely, in our own. Morlais is a good name in Huguenot annals; and there is little doubt that the Nonconformist Morleys have all sprung from that excellent stock. The Rev. James H. Wilson, formerly of Aberdeen, and, in late years, one of the most intimate of our subject's London friends, has been at some pains to verify the descent; and has, we believe, convinced himself and others

interested in the question that the Huguenot pedigree is perfectly clear. Genealogy, as applied to himself, would perhaps be about the last thing to engross the attention of Mr. Samuel Morley; but his ordinary good-nature, not to reckon the special friendliness of his regard for Mr. Wilson, has certainly prevented his saying to that earnest and estimable gentleman, as Oliver Cromwell is supposed by Mr. Carlyle to have said to a certain miserable old Bishop Goodman, who "came dedicating to him some unreadable semi-Popish jargon," together with an adulatory account of the Protector's relationship to the family of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, the "Mauler of Monasteries" in Henry the Eighth's time, "You are quite wrong as to all that: good morning." Wrong or right in its positive conclusion, the inquiry into any probable or possible connection of the Nottingham and Bristol Morleys with the French Calvinist family of Morlais, driven out of France by Mary de' Medici and Charles the Ninth, in 1572, was worth making; and, as we have intimated, the reasonable belief on the point is pretty nearly identical with the theory broached and investigated by Mr. Wilson.

At the head of a family and business branch of the Morleys, in the last generation, was Mr. John Morley. He was the founder of the London house, which had, and still has, its manufactories in several parts of the country. For some time, indeed, the firm dealt only in goods of their own making—chiefly hosiery—the honest fame of which was soon established all over the world. As times changed, and the commercial intercourse of nations expanded, so did the necessity of a corresponding movement impress itself on the sagacious minds of those who governed the great and still rising house of business. It has been said that imagination is one of the faculties requisite to a merchant, who, unless he can grasp the many possible contingencies of which neither he nor any one has had actual experience, cannot be prepared for events which, if shrewdly foreseen, may be dealt with as matters of course. Mr. John Morley had three sons, named John, William, and Samuel, of whom the elder and younger entered the London business, and were partners in it at the time of their father's death. Of these, however, only one, Mr. Samuel Morley, is now connected with the firm, of which, indeed, he is sole representative. This gentleman, of whom we have now specially to speak, was born at Hackney in the year 1809. A large, old-fashioned house, known as the Eagles, in Wells Street, is often pointed out as his birthplace. As we shall presently see, from his connection with the college at Homerton, Mr. Morley has by no means lost a cordial hold on the neighbourhood of Hackney, though he has long ceased to be a resident of that district.

In 1841, Mr. Morley allied himself with the Hope family in Liverpool, by marriage with Rebekah Maria, daughter of Samuel Hope, Esq., of that town. In this lady he has had a wife fitted in every way to be the friend and counsellor of one so deeply and actively engaged in the multifarious duties of life. Eight children, all of whom are living, are the fruit of this marriage. Mr. Samuel Morley's connection with the legislature began in July, 1865, when he entered Parliament as member for Nottingham, a town in the prosperity of which he was closely interested. In May, 1866, he was unseated on petition; and this untoward event, though it left no stain on the brightness of his reputation, has been perhaps the greatest grief and trouble of his life. He had the sympathy of opponents as well as of friends on this occasion; for the decision of the judge acquitted him of act or part in the doings of those on whom he had relied. Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone complimented the unseated member in terms which must have been a great consolation, while he dwelt on the loss which the Liberal side in that assembly had sustained. In May, 1868, Mr. Morley stood unsuccessfully for Bristol; but in the following December he was elected, and has since sat for that city without interruption. One of his first acts in Parliament was to vote for the disestablishment of the Irish Church; and it is almost

superfluous to state that in the House, as on the public platform, and wherever and whenever opportunity might arise for the expression of his opinion, he has firmly opposed all compulsory payments for the support of religion.

Firm as the member for Bristol has ever been in maintaining those prineiples which are with him and with the powerful body who rejoice in his championship as much a matter of religious as of political conviction, he has always been moderate in his demands upon the Legislature. His connection with the Financial Reform Association has brought him into familiar intercourse with all the reformers of his day. Cobden, Baines, Miall, are names with which his own will be associated in time to come; nor has he been less intimate with Mr. Gladstone. Of his moderation, it may be said that it resembles the policy, in this respect, of Joseph Hume, as exemplified in a rather instructive aneedote concerning him and Joseph Sturge. The latter, so uncompromising was he in his belief that all his political claims were just, would aeeept no less than their full value; or, as he expressed it, would not take a halfpenny less than twenty shillings in the pound. "I will take ten shillings in the pound," said the other Joseph, wiser in his generation, "or five shillings, or whatever I can get, *but I will not give a quittance.*"

It is thirty-four years since Sir James Graham's Education Bill was passed. Something like good Joseph Sturge's determined front, against anything like a composition, was made by the Voluntary Soeiety, which was then formed to establish sehools on the strict principle embodied in that association's name, and which took no grant from Government. First and foremost of these educational establishments was the college at Homerton, of which Dr. Unwin has been for all those years the head. Mr. Samuel Morley is the treasurer of that institution, which owes much to his generous sympathy, and which, having fallen in with the sagaeious doctrine of Joseph Hume, has latterly aceepted the Government subsidy. In its day of stern, independent voluntaryism, this college sent forth a great many teaehers; and it continues to exert the same beneficial influence in the cause of Noneonformist education. Since 1855 Mr. Morley has been treasurer also of the Home Missionary Society, and it was through his instrumentality that the Rev. J. H. Wilson previously to that date came from Aberdeen to undertake the seeretaryship. With Mr. Wilson, he visited most of the counties in England and Wales, held conferenee meetings, and introduced a new order of ageney, consisting of lay evangelists and *colporteurs,* who soon became a power for good in visiting the villages, holding cottage-meetings, promoting the sale of popular literature, and, in fine, helping the people to help themselves. By acting on this prineiple, and offering substantial encouragement, he greatly stimulated the county associations; and the result of a few years' work in this direction was that the ineome of these unions for Home Missionary labour advanced fully fifty per cent., that is, from £12,000 to £18,000, exclusive of a sum thrice as large for the support of the Gospel among themselves, in their Mission churches. As a proof of the influence which Mr. Morley exerted in these meetings, it may be stated that at a conference held at Worcester he asked the minister of the chapel in which they met if he thought that five gentlemen present could be indueed to give £100 each for lay evangelical work; that the reply was not hopeful; but that Mr. Morley himself canvassed a few of them privately, and then laid on the table a list of subscriptions amounting to £1,850, from nine persons. In other counties he was equally successful, until the Society became a great power through all the land.

Some time ago Mr. Morley, with a view to encourage the building of sightly and substantial, as well as commodious, chapels in London, offered £500 each towards the erection of twelve sueh chapels; and when they were built he gave £500 each towards the building of twelve more. Within three years the twenty-four edifiees were eomplete; and they are nearly

all free from debt. Towards defraying the cost of the Congregational Hall, in Farringdon Street, Mr. Morley contributed £6,000; and in 1875 his portrait, painted by Mr. Wells, R.A., was hung in the library of that institution. The Congregational Hall, or Memorial Hall, as it is often called, for reasons presently apparent, was opened in January, 1875. The foundation-stone was laid on the 10th May, 1872, in pursuance of a plan which had been carefully matured for raising a memorial to those two thousand ministers of the Church of England who resigned their charges in the reign of Charles II., because they could not conscientiously subscribe to the Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662. A "Bicentenary Memorial Fund" was instituted in the year of the second great International Exhibition in London, that is, the 1862 gathering at South Kensington; and since that time the hopes of the Congregationalists that their tercentenary celebration of 1962 will be held in their own Memorial Hall have received a welcome and unexpected assurance. The facts concerning the rise and progress of this noble monument may here be briefly rehearsed. When the Congregational Union of England and Wales resolved to commemorate the fidelity to conscience shown by the two thousand ministers in 1662, it was scarcely expected that a quarter of a million sterling would be raised; but in every way the scheme prospered abundantly, as it deserved to prosper. Even delays and obstacles turned into benefits; and in having to part with the first site purchased for the new hall the committee found a great advantage, not only by saving a large sum of money, but in gaining a more appropriate as well as more convenient area for the building. While the hall itself was allowed to be the principal consideration, it was felt by the committee that the library ought also to claim special attention, as a means of promoting a healthy Christian intercourse, and of developing new sources of intelligence for the benefit of a rising ministry, and of the young men connected with the denomination. More than 8,000 volumes were ready to be placed on the shelves of the finely-proportioned chamber, second in size and imposing grace of adornment only to the great hall; and they were placed there as soon as the building was finished and fairly open. The hall itself, which is above the other floors, challenges comparison with the most noted interiors of London architecture. It is of great height, considerable space being left between its floor and galleries, and again between these and the vaulted Gothic roof. Middle-age, and, let it be boldly said, ecclesiastical, and even monastic, decoration enriches the beauty of this hall. At the eastern end is a wide and lofty window of stained glass, depicting the historical scene of the embarkation of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. This fine window is the gift of Dr. Nathaniel Rogers; and it is almost equalled in magnificence by one which was presented to the library by the widow of Dr. George Smith, as a memorial to her late husband.

Perhaps no part of the city has so changed and improved within the past few years as that which was invaded by the construction of the Holborn Viaduct. Private enterprise, following the lead of public spirit, altered the whole face of that once dismal neighbourhood; and the antiquary is puzzled to trace the noteworthy landmarks of a labyrinth now laid open. Foul rookeries—the nests, indeed, of the very blackest of London's predatory tribes—have been swept away. More reputable but hardly less rickety shops and dwelling-houses have also disappeared; and in their place are tall and stately edifices, some let out in office-flats, others wholly occupied by large firms, with here and there a restaurant or club-house. The range of offices from which this very publication is sent forth covers the buildings, court-yards, and adjoining lanes and alleys of one of London's most famous and historical galleried inns. In the midst of this local re-habilitation, standing on a portion of the ground

once dismally occupied by a debtors' prison, is seen the Congregational Hall, a Gothic edifice of rough-hewn stone, towering high above buildings most of which are of considerable elevation. Its ecclesiastical character, which has been already noticed, and which is even more remarkable within than without, will not, in these days, be interpreted as a contradiction to the spirit of Congregationalism or Nonconformity. The tower that is so like a belfry, and that might be the beginning of a steeple, offends no modern Puritan who looks upon it as he passes along the broad thoroughfare. He himself no longer affects an external plainness, distinguishing him from other men; nor does he feel that it is necessary for a Dissenting chapel to be more naked, unadorned, and therefore uninviting, than a church. The genial side of Puritanism was eloquently touched by the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, in an address on "Olden Nonconformity," which he delivered at a meeting of the Congregational Union, in connection with this memorial. He then expressed his belief that there was more true culture, courtesy, rational enjoyment, love of nature, pleasant social intercourse, and all that makes the grace and charm of life, to be found in Nonconformist homes than in the houses of the Court satellites, and he referred to Dr. Halley's masterly and intensely interesting "Puritanism and Nonconformity in Lancashire," in order to show that hunting and hawking were not forbidden pleasures. No doubt, as the struggle deepened, men grew harder, more stern and sour. "But," said the excellent minister, "Cromwell's home remained a conspicuous instance of what I have been describing. His love of music was intense; while the great Polyglot remains an abiding monument of the breadth—yes, and the courage—of his sympathy with scholars and scholarly work."

It was purely fortuitous, though the accident may be deemed as happy as it was strange, that the Memorial Hall should actually cover the spot of all spots most interesting to Nonconformists. That the site should be freehold, and that it should be central, was really all that the committee cared for; and they had decided upon and actually purchased ground, when the Metropolitan District Railway "requisitioned" their bargain, paying, of course, an advance-price in order to obtain it. Not a single Congregationalist could have dreamed that the buildings would cover the site of the old Fleet Prison, where many of the early Nonconformists had to suffer the loss of all things, and even of life itself, for conscience' sake; nor that, in digging out the foundations, two of the wretched cells, in which some of these martyrs were confined and cruelly used, should be discovered; nor, when the facts had turned out so strangely, were the leaders of Nonconformity at all willing to dwell on these painful disclosures. Rather, as they declared in their report, did they desire to accept the history of such Christian fortitude and faithfulness to the claims of God's truth and government as involving a legacy of obligation, not only to contend manfully and intelligently for "the faith once delivered unto the saints," but for those principles of civil and religious freedom by which they might "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." When Luther and Erasmus were one day discussing the best means of promoting the Reformation, the philosophical divine said, "Enlighten, and the darkness will dispel of itself." "True," replied Luther; "but we must first fight for a platform before we can hold up the torch of truth." Those sufferers of the Fleet, and of Bridewell, fought, and by their fidelity to conscience greatly helped to gain a platform for the peaceful propagandism of a calmer day.

Mr. Morley was peculiarly fitted to represent a constituency like that of the "capital of the West." Bristol is a city of chapels as well as of churches; and the large Dissenting element, now more apparent than ever, in its population of nearly two hundred thousand souls, gladly welcomed as

its representative one of the most prominent Dissenters of the time. The ancient city is no less noted for its philanthropy than for its observanee of religious duties. Its charitable institutions, headed by the noble foundations of Edward Colston, abound; and here again Mr. Samuel Morley's wide-reaching liberality, and the generous support he has given to all measures for the amelioration of the condition of the masses were thoroughly in harmony with that charitable spirit which Bristol people have for centuries preserved among their most eherished traditions. Then, at the time when Mr. Morley was first introduced to the constituency, the old spirit of enterprise which had guided and influeneed Bristol merchant-princes had revived, and was once more manifesting itself in the counsels of its local parliament. Its manufactures for export trade, though still limited, were making substantial progress. Plans for ocean dock aeeommodation, far more extensive than the citizens had ever before contemplated, had been devised and projected by the Town Council. The Streets Improvement Committee had already commenced that work of renovation which in the past few years has provided Bristol with new and spacious thoroughfares, and has completely ehanged the aspect of the old city. As one amongst many qualifications for that position which Mr. Morley had been asked by the Liberal portion of the Bristol eonstituency to fill, his extensive connection with trade and commeree was at once hailed with universal satisfaction. Hitherto, however, they had only known him by good repute. One week's experienee, during the opening of his candidature in 1868, sufficed to weave between him and the Liberal constitueney of Bristol a bond of union which has been strengthened and drawn closer by succeeding years. "There is not," says a prominent Bristolian, "a congregation attached to any of the numerous chapels stowed away in the city's narrow old streets, or challenging notice in every direction along its rapidly growing suburbs, but would bear witness to the faet that his name is now a household word among them."

The enthusiasm of his reception by the working classes of Bristol on the occasion of his first presenting himself to them as a candidate for their suffrages, on the retirement of Sir Morton Peto in 1868, was unbounded. At that period he took the leading part in opening the Bristol Operatives' Liberal Association in the large Colston Hall, where about 6,000 persons, closely crowded together, had assembled to receive him. The meeting, in fact, was the commencement of the campaign on the part of the Liberal electors. In his opening speech, Mr. Samuel Morley, addressing the members of the Association, craved permission to say, at the very outset, that his presence there was an act of allegiance to Liberal principles. He had not the slightest ambition, he declared, with an emphasis the sincerity of which none who knew him could doubt, to become a member of Parliament, and if there was in the mind of any one who heard him the slightest impression that any other name than his would serve to unite them more thoroughly in their universal object, he would just as gladly take off his coat on the morrow, and join their ranks in order that, in the great crisis of their national history, they might maintain the high position which they occupied in the House of Commons. This frankness of speech was characteristic of his behaviour throughout the contest, and won for him the esteem of many outside the Liberal constituency. After that same meeting, in addressing the working men, he observed that he had all his life been connected with trade. He was introduced at a very early age into business; and for the preceding thirty or thirty-five years he had been, he might without exaggeration say, largely connected with the commeree of the country. He hoped he was not disposed to magnify his office, but he believed that they would find in the perseveranee, the industry, the intelligence, and he would unhesitatingly say the integrity, which had distinguished the leading mercantile classes of England, not only the very sceret of England's greatness, but the best guarantee for the preservation of our liberties.

It was with such sentiments as these that he at once impressed the industrial classes of Bristol

with his thorough earnestness as a public man. He lost the election by a hundred and ninety-six votes, the numbers being, for Mr. Miles, 5,173, and for Mr. Morley, 4,977. Mr. Miles was unseated on petition in the ensuing June; and in the same month Mr. Morley again appeared as a candidate for the suffrages of the Bristolians. The extraordinary popularity he had achieved among the working classes seemed to be hardly understood by his opponents. That others perceived and admitted the significance, however, there could be no doubt; and one incident of Mr. Morley's reappearance on that occasion still more firmly stamped upon the minds of his admirers the sterling character of their hero. In the course of his speech in presenting himself he introduced the name of a well-known official of the opposite party in Bristol, and connected it with a very ugly disclosure. The person mentioned had written to Sir Robert Clifton's agent at Nottingham, asking, not what were the views of Mr. Morley, the policy he advocated, and so forth, in order that, as intelligent men, they might discuss them; but—"Can you tell me anything damaging to Morley's character, that we may make use of at the approaching election?" This letter met the fate it merited. Disdaining to treat it as confidential, or in any way privileged, the gentleman to whom it was addressed took it straightway to Mr. Morley, politically opposed though they were, and, having shown it to him, offered to go to Bristol and to tell the people there what was his answer. Mr. Morley assured the Nottingham agent that such trouble on his part would be unnecessary, and he therefore declined the offer with thanks; but he mentioned the facts publicly in order, as he said, "to show the infamous method resorted to to damage him in the estimation of the Bristol public."

In the midst of the candidature, Mr. Miles being on the other side, the contest was prematurely closed, possibly in consequence of the greatly excited state of public opinion in the city, but also, in part, no doubt, owing to the knowledge that the rapidly-expiring Parliament would be followed by a general election after the recess. Into that contest, which ensued in the following November, Mr. Morley threw himself with an energy which carried all before it. Going down to Bristol on the 21st of October, he spoke at great length, night after night, at the Colston Hall, addressing thousands of the constituency on the question of the hour—"Disestablishment of the Irish Church"—and on other political topics. Working the candidature throughout single-handed, in consequence of the illness of the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley, he defeated his old opponent, Mr. Miles (who was eligible to contest the seat in the new Parliament), by more than 2,000 votes, the figures at the closing of the poll being: the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley, 8,759; Mr. Samuel Morley, 8,714; Mr. Miles, 6,694. This placed Mr. Morley in a position unprecedented in relation to the Bristol constituency; and from that moment his seat has been secure, and year after year he has risen in the esteem, not only of his Liberal supporters, but of the whole population.

As an orator, Mr. Morley is precise rather than impassioned. His high, clear voice, escaping hardness, has yet no quality suggesting fervour; and only when expressing his most earnest feelings do its tones vibrate sympathetically. Combined with a look of *hauteur*, which is only a look, his calm, incisive speech conveys to many the impression of cold reserve, and in so doing is unjust to his true nature. But for all this his eloquence has the true ring of deep conviction and unswerving allegiance to the cause of humanity and truth. No man could speak as he speaks without feeling the weight and value of his language—without feeling his strict responsibility for every word. That same suspicion of frigidity which unaccustomed hearers may infer from his manner is no doubt caused, in fact, by that very conscientiousness of utterance. Though naturally, as all his friends and acquaintance unite in saying, warmly impulsive, he denies himself the momentary gratification of yielding to impulse, when he is

addressing hearers apt to carry away the fullest measure of meaning that they can get, and to treasure it long after. In practical benevolence, Mr. Morley scarce lets his left hand know what his right hand is doing, and it is not easy to speak of his bountiful charities without feeling that this is a subject he himself would desire to be passed in absolute silence. One of his friends and old lieutenants speaks thus of him: "I should say he spends from £20,000 to £30,000 a year in religious and benevolent work. His private gifts to help forward struggling merit and to relieve pressing want are most numerous and unostentatious."

Mr. Morley is a Magistrate of Middlesex and of Kent, and is a Commissioner of Lieutenancy for London. Some years ago he sold his property of Craven Lodge, Stamford Hill, and bought an estate called Hall Place, near Tunbridge, in Kent, where he has built a goodly mansion, in the Elizabethan style, and where he spends some part of every year, having a town house in Upper Brook Street. He is a man whose heart always beats warmly on the side of freedom and Christian liberty, and whose life is passed in doing good.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

The Rev. Canon Farrar, D.D.

PERHAPS among the younger of those men of mark, who are not far to seek in the ranks of the Church of England clergy, no one exhibits more versatility than Dr. Farrar, the late Master of Marlborough College, and the subject of our present Memoir. As a classical scholar, a writer of fiction and history, and a philologist as well as a theologian and a pulpit orator, he has gained distinction which would have ensured him eminence had his talents turned only in one direction, but which, expatiating over so wide and diversified a field, justifies the remark that he exemplifies in the very best sense the maxim, to be "all things to all men." In times of advanced civilisation, the cause of religion and morality must command such champions as this, if it is to prevail over the less eligible elements which always enter into the composition of such epochs. There is still work for the quiet student or cloistered recluse; but in many cases the ecclesiastic who would do good in his day and generation, must come to the front, and take rank with the leaders in thought and action. He must prove that a man does not of necessity cease to be a brilliant scholar, or a profound thinker, because he is a devoted Christian. It is the privilege of such men to present, at the shrine of their faith, the Magian offering of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, of secular as well as sacred accomplishments. Dr. Farrar's work has brought him into contact with many of our most eminent men of science; but he has ever kept true to the old moorings, and the signal success which has accompanied him throughout his career proves, to a very satisfactory degree indeed, what is the kind of men the Church and the world combine in delighting to honour.

Looking at the subject of our biography from the standpoint of his present position, we see this "many-sidedness" in its entirety, and "the varnish," as Shakespeare says, "of the complete man;" but it will be very interesting to note its development in detail. The method of that development has been orderly. It is only men of a single faculty who can afford to be spasmodic. Where the outcome is manifold, the result would be chaos, unless all were done "decently and in order" (*εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν*).

The Reverend Frederic William Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., then, merges for the moment into plain Mr. Farrar, as we retrace his biography from the earliest time at which it can be said properly to form the subject of our brief sketch. He was born in the Fort of Bombay, in the year 1831; his father, who has been for many years rector of Sidcup, in Kent, being then a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. He was sent, while very young, to King William's College, Castletown, Isle of Man, a school of which it is interesting to know that many of the external surroundings are reproduced in "Eric; or, Little by Little," the first of Mr. Farrar's absorbingly interesting schoolboy tales. Many boys—and not a few children of larger growth—who still linger over the pages of "Eric," are, we believe, prone to identify the *locale* with another celebrated seaside public school in the North of England; but there is no doubt that, so far, at all events, as the locality is concerned, "Eric" is autobiographical. The Isle of

He would be, I am sure, the magnet of all that is noble and generous in the hearts of those whom he ruled. And it would be with no selfish motive, but with the single-minded desire to implant and to cherish in his pupils everything high-minded, and religious, and Christian, that he would put forth this singular power of attraction." Of his sermons in the school-chapel at Harrow, Dr. Vaughan said: "Of some of them I retain to this distant day a lively and touching remembrance. I can describe them, without any risk of exaggeration, as having exercised a most powerful influence for good upon their hearers, not only in stimulating the conscience to a sense of duty, but also (I desire to say this most particularly) in quickening the soul in aspirations after God." Here, while doing good service as assistant, and devoting the very prime of his life to his great work, Mr. Farrar was actually serving his apprenticeship as Archididascalus, and gathering those sound principles of management and method which he subsequently so ably carried out in another sphere. He was ordained deacon in 1854 by the Bishop of Salisbury, and priest in 1857 by the Bishop of Ely, in which latter year he also took his M.A. degree.

In the meantime honours fell thickly upon him. The impetus once given, it is not in the nature of such a man as this to stand still; and Fortune continually teaches the lesson which we are often so slow to learn, that it is for the workers she reserves her rewards. Genius is a gift, no doubt; but it is remarkable how often we find genius, if not synonymous, yet bound up very closely with hard work: and hard work is never spasmodic. It proceeds systematically. Mr. Farrar's work and reward progressed *pari passu*. In 1858, he was appointed Honorary Fellow of King's College, a fitting tribute to the lustre which his subsequent career had shed over the scenes of his early training. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1864; University Preacher in 1868; Honorary Chaplain to the Queen in 1869; and Hulsean Lecturer in 1870.

In 1871 he was appointed to the Head-mastership of Marlborough College. We have already referred to the high terms in which Dr. Vaughan spoke of Mr. Farrar at the time of his candidature for this high post. It may not be uninteresting to glance at one or two of the other testimonials—and they were not a few in number—which were addressed to the Council of Marlborough College at this time, exhibiting as they do the great esteem in which Mr. Farrar was held by the distinguished men with whom he had, during his previous career, been closely associated. "As an accurate and scientific scholar, a man of letters, and one of the first speakers and preachers of our time," wrote Dr. Butler, the Headmaster of Harrow, "he cannot fail to bring fame and force to any institution, however high, with which he may be now or hereafter connected." Professor Max Müller said that Mr. Farrar's name would "add lustre to any school in England;" and the testimony of Professor Lightfoot, and of others equally renowned in their various spheres, was not less flattering. Perhaps none, however, was more gratifying than that of Professor Maurice, who expressed his belief that Mr. Farrar would be "well able to combine the culture of other days with the special wisdom of ours"—a singularly graceful tribute to the genius of his former pupil.

In 1872 Mr. Farrar became Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen; in 1873 and 1875 was again appointed University preacher; and in 1876 resigned the Head Mastership of Marlborough College, having been appointed by the Queen Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In 1874 he took his D.D. degree. Strangely enough, and as if in renewed evidence of his activity, he was, we believe, the first who took the theological degrees in accordance with the new regulations at Cambridge. In old soporiferous times the degrees of B.D. and D.D. were simply matters of academical standing and fees. One glided gracefully from the faculty of

Arts to that of Divinity without any formal proof of fitness. But now the University may say, *nous avons changé tout cela.* The degrees of B.D. and D.D. are earned by a special treatise written for each on a prescribed thesis, which has to satisfy the University Professors. There is nothing perfunctory about any of Dr. Farrar's work, and his reputation, just like these two theological distinctions, has been earned. Every position has been carried at the point of the bayonet.

We have now to speak of his works of fiction. His earliest was "Eric; or, Little by Little," in 1858, and this was a type of others which were to follow. It was an attempt—and a highly successful one as the event proved—to give a truthful delineation of school life as the author had seen it; and so to help English boys, and tide them over some of the shoals and quicksands of scholastic life. Though written nearly twenty years ago, the book continues to pass through new editions, the fifteenth having been reached in 1876. "Eric" is a very treasure to the bewildered pedagogue who wants to give a prize to his boys which they will value, and which at the same time will do them good. The pill is judiciously gilded, and there is none of the instruction-blended-with-amusement element which awakens the suspicion of young Hopeful that he is only getting a lesson in disguise instead of a "reading" book. Encouraged by the success of "Eric," the author wrote "Julian Home," which also went through several editions, and "St. Winifred's; or, the World of School," which, though at first published anonymously, was also highly successful.

But we have not nearly exhausted the forms of Proteus. Perhaps the metamorphosis on which we have now to dwell is a somewhat unlooked-for one. Greek grammar rules, and a Greek syntax, are publications which we might have expected from an intelligent instructor of small boys in the mysteries of a dead language. Somebody said that, even if a man were only going to be a knife-grinder, a knowledge of the classics would enable him to turn the grindstone more skilfully; and though it is several centuries since, at the Renaissance, it became fashionable to return an answer in the affirmative to the question, "Canst thou speak Greek?" there is something to be said about the method of teaching and learning the old Hellenic language still, and Dr. Farrar's books on this subject have again passed through many editions, and are in large use at some of the great public schools. In his Greek Syntax, Dr. Farrar introduced the plan of always illustrating all classical idioms by parallels from English and modern literature, which has since been largely followed in other grammars. Dr. Farrar is, as we have seen, essentially a man of many editions. But he is more than classical: he is philological; and several of his later works have borne upon that study which has of recent years revived in England. The Pagan Renaissance, as M. Taine calls that of the sixteenth century, has enlarged its borders of late, and comparative philology and mythology have become acclimatised in England. It was in this direction—almost a revolutionary one for a Cambridge Fellow—that Dr. Farrar's energies were next turned. He himself quoted, aptly enough, in one of his works, the words of Charles V.:—"*Autant de langues que l'homme sçait parler, autant de fois est il homme*"—in proportion to the number of languages which a man knew, in that proportion was he more of a man. The earliest of these philological exercitations was a work on "The Origin of Language," now out of print. It was written in 1860, before Professor Max Müller's lectures had made the subject so popular as it afterwards became; and certain points raised in this little volume led the author into a perfectly amicable controversy with the professor; the latter was subsequently, however, one of the first to testify to the good service which Dr. Farrar rendered in utilising the results of comparative philology for the practical teaching of

Latin and Greek. The same subject was continued in a succeeding work, entitled, "Chapters on Language," and also in some lectures, delivered before the Royal Institution, on "The Families of Speech." As instances of the tendency of a purely original mind to avoid the ordinary grooves and ruts of academical thought, the volumes we refer to are very remarkable. Take an illustration, culled almost at random from one of these philological works. In speaking of metaphor ("The Origin of Language," p. 116), he says: "In mathematics there is a line known as the *asymptote*, which continually approaches to a curve, but, being produced for ever, does not cut it, though the distance between the asymptote and the curve becomes, in the course of this approach, less than any assignable quantity. Language, in relation to thought, must ever be regarded as an *asymptote*. They can no more perfectly coincide than any two particles of matter can be made absolutely to touch each other." Is it, we wonder, fanciful to attribute this leavening of old academical thought with the fresher elements of intellectual life to Dr. Farrar's combined and for some time contemporary experiences in early life at the Universities of Cambridge and London respectively? Whatever its origin, there is no sort of doubt that this quasi-revolutionary character transferred itself to his educational work. Perhaps no one who has not gone through the ordeal of public school-life, either as teacher or pupil, can appreciate to what an extent both the one and the other are bound—or were, up to a comparatively recent date, bound—hand and foot in the trammels of old traditions, or what a temptation there was for a master to adopt as his maxim, *quieta non movere*—to simply rest and be thankful. Our antecedents, however, would certainly lead us to the foregone conclusion that such would not be Dr. Farrar's attitude when he brought his mind to bear on the great work of education. He was not likely to stagnate; and, as a fact, he did not. He has written two educational works only; but their effect is not to be measured numerically. The first was, "A Lecture on Public School Education," delivered before the Royal Institution, with notes (1867); and the other, "Essays on a Liberal Education," edited and partly written by himself, though among his more distinguished collaborators were Professor Seeley and Lord Houghton. These works produced a most important effect, as they contributed largely to the modification in English schools of the bad system prevalent up to that time, by which all boys alike, whether suited or un-suited for such tasks, were detained for fruitless years over Latin verse-writing, and, of course, did not advance a single step.

Viewing the matter from his own humorous standpoint, Sydney Smith, in speaking of Public School Education, said, in effect, that most boys who went to a public school made about ten thousand Latin verses during the time they were there, and, if they were wise, they never made another after they left. This was a bit of the revived paganism M. Taine spoke of, which has come down to us from the days of poor little Edward VI. who was, in this respect, "schoolmastered like a bishop;" and it was just one of those picturesque but effete institutions sure to tempt the mild iconoclasm of a man like Dr. Farrar. Art is long, and life is short—far too short to leave time for making Latin Elegiacs and Greek Iambics which would never be of any practical use; and this is substantially the tone taken by Dr. Farrar in his essay on Latin and Greek Composition. He says:—"What is the daily spectacle presented by the system? Hours upon hours spent by many boys in the moiling evolution of one or two *wintry and wooden elegiacs*, consisting alternately of halting hexameters and hypermetric pentameters; boys whose utter inability might have been predicted at thirteen kept at the same galley work up to eighteen or nineteen, as unprogressive as the seaman who plied his oar on land; and a multitude of Englishmen bitterly regretful, or good-humouredly contemptuous, at the unpractical and fantastic character of their youthful instruction."

And this, be it remembered, is not the dictum of some Cleon, who, knowing little Latin and less Greek, inveighs against a system, the possible merits of which he could not appreciate. The words are those of a classical honour-man, and Fellow of Trinity, who might, perhaps, have been speaking from bitter experience when he wrote as he did of verse-grinding, though "Roslyn" and King's never elevated that craft into such importance as it assumed at Eton and Harrow, where verse composition at one time simply exhausted excellence, and almost stood in the place of the cardinal virtues. As an old verse-grinder himself, however, and afterwards, through long years, a master in schools where that pursuit was lauded to the skies, he yet ventures to deprecate it with all the force of his originality and satire, whilst he would elevate into the niche left vacant after his iconoclastic exercises none other than the one dreaded subject of—Science. It is here he joined hands with the great scientific men of the day, though there still remained broad lines of opposition between his science-teaching and theirs. The introduction of this subject into English school-teaching was furthered by a small committee, appointed at Dr. Farrar's request, by the British Association, before whom he read a paper on the subject. Of this committee Professors Huxley and Tyndall were joint members with himself; and they drew up a report, which was very widely circulated. The paper which follows Dr. Farrar's own in the "Essays on a Liberal Education" is one on "Teaching Natural Science in Schools;" and we can scarcely avoid the idea that, by its juxtaposition, the editor meant it to stand as in some sort a corollary to his own previous proposition. In it occur the following pertinent sentences:—"Does it seem strange to hail as a friend to religion that scientific spirit so often denounced as hostile? Yet, how can it be otherwise? Are God and Nature then at strife indeed? At present there is secret, if not avowed, hostility between Religion and Science, or at any rate a distrustful toleration. Nothing but active co-operation will permanently reconcile them."

Brief space remains for viewing Dr. Farrar under what many of his warmest admirers consider his most distinctive aspect—the theologian and the Christian orator. His latest works have been more or less theological. Among these we may enumerate "The Fall of Man," "University and other Sermons;" and, very noticeably, the Hulsean Lectures for 1870, entitled "The Witness of History to Christ." In such a composition as the last, we see the academical and oratorical styles of the preacher well exemplified. Take, for instance, such a sentence as this, where he rolls back the reproach of narrowness upon the opponents of Christianity:—

"Believe me, if there be a theological, there is also such a thing as scientific narrowness. There is a noble Science, and there is a Science inflated and ignorant; and, little as their authors knew of the sublimest laws of nature, yet this kind of Science is a thing as much lower than the Pentateuch or the Book of Psalms, as a treatise on astronomy, however accurate, is a smaller thing than *midnight with all its stars.*"

In this last expression will be discovered a symptom at least of what is a distinguishing mark of Dr. Farrar's pulpit oratory, namely, somewhat florid language. This pervades all his writings on almost every subject, but is more discernible, as well as more appropriate, in his rhetorical addresses; and, when aided by an earnest and emphatic delivery, accounts for the great charm exerted by Dr. Farrar over the vast congregations which always assemble whenever it is known that he is going to preach. This peculiarity is discernible in the very title of a volume of Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. It is called "The Silence and Voices of God." In this collection is strikingly exemplified, too, Dr. Farrar's consummate power of using narrative in his sermons. Just as his rhetorical ornamentation never degenerates into anything approaching

bombast, so this facility in narration never multiplies itself so as to make a sermon a mere collection of anecdotes. The effect of such stories as Dr. Farrar's, told as he can tell them from the pulpit, would be as magical on any child in the congregation as that of "Eric," or any other production of his magical pen. It is the strange occult force of personal influence which Dr. Farrar possesses in so remarkable a degree, and manages to infuse into all he does, be it schoolwork, storybook, or sermon. Such gifts constitute men the teachers of their fellows. They are born, not made, whatever subsequent training may have to do with their development.

Amongst his other works may be enumerated "Seekers after God" (a volume of the "Sunday Library"—1869), and lastly, and as a splendid climax for the present, the "Life of Christ" (1874), the success of which has been very great, eighteen editions having been called for in less than two years. As an instance of Dr. Farrar's power of popularising abstruse subjects, this work is unique. Strangely enough it is true that many devout persons know almost less of the details in the life of Christ than in the life of Mahomet. In this marvellous book the very latest results of recent criticism are combined with fidelity to the Gospel narrative, and arranged with such infinite grace of style that the volumes are full of fascination; and their unbounded success, which takes us back to the Colloquies of Erasmus for a parallel, ceases to be a matter of surprise. Valuable as are all Dr. Farrar's works, this last production of his pen stands alone as a motive power for good on society at large. Dr. Farrar has also contributed many articles to the "Dictionary of the Bible," "Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia," the "Encyclopædia Britannica," the "Bible Educator," the *Quarterly Review, Fraser's Magazine, Macmillan's Magazine,* the *Contemporary Review,* &c., and has read papers before the Church Congress, Sion College, &c.

His chief work for some years, of course, was as Master of Marlborough College, which prospered, as might have been expected, under his sway. The school attained and kept its fullest maximum of numbers, and the variety and brilliancy of the successes gained by the boys, year after year, were such as might be favourably compared with those of any school in England.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott & Fry.*]

The Marquis of Salisbury.

ROBERT Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, Marquis and Earl of Salisbury, Viscount Cranborne, and Baron Cecil of Essendine—born at Hatfield in 1830—has come of a proud old governing family, that started into note in the days of Good Queen Bess. The founder of the branch of the Cecils from which the present Marquis is descended was the second son of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, better known as the Bismarck of the Elizabethan Era. Robert Cecil, though only a younger son of Queen Elizabeth's illustrious Premier, was on the whole a very successful courtier. One way and another, he pushed his fortunes on from a simple knighthood to an earldom, which latter dignity he attained during the reign of James I. His political services consisted chiefly of the patient and faithful discharge of duty in the arduous office of Secretary of State. He fell a martyr to hard work. The courtly chroniclers say that he died "worn out with business," and towards his last days he was evidently weary with the march of life. It is curious in studying the history of great families to trace the action and influence of what modern biologists call "heredity." Not unfrequently we notice physical features and moral as well as mental characteristics of ancestors reappearing in their latest descendants. Without much difficulty we may trace some points of curious contact in character between the present Marquis of Salisbury and the first earl who wore out his life in the zealous discharge of public duty. As we shall see, there is in both men the same notable love of hard work for its own sake. There is also the same dark thread of melancholy permeating the warp and woof of their moral and spiritual being. It was the first earl who towards the close of his successful career wrote to Sir James Harington the poet words that have become very memorable—"Good knight," said he, "rest content, and give heed to one that hath sorrowed in the bright lustre of a Court, and gone heavily on even the best seeming fair ground. 'Tis a great task to prove one's honesty and not mar one's fortune. You have tasted a little thereof in our blessed Queen's time, who was more than a man, and, in truth, sometimes less than a woman. I wish I waited now in your presence chamber, with ease at my food and rest in my bed." Times change, it is said, and men are changed with them. But in some cases how very slight is the alteration effected on the fundamental elements of human nature, even by the abrading action of three centuries! Reviewing as with a bird's-eye glance the strange and chequered career of the present Marquis of Salisbury, looking at him as he sits in his place in the House of Lords, quiet, motionless, proudly self-contained, with his handsome but coldly chiselled features "sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought," and making allowance for the changed circumstances of political life in our day, one can easily fancy him writing to a confidential friend in the self-same strain in which his ancestor wrote in 1603. He, too, might say, "'Tis a great task to prove one's honesty and not mar one's fortune;" and if he were at all a vain man, the Robert Cecil of to-day

might well boast that no man living ever more nobly or successfully overcame the task in question than he himself has done.

For, though born in the midst of luxury and opulence, the Marquis of Salisbury has been a man of toil, and to some extent of strife, from his youth upwards. At Eton, where he was educated, at Christchurch, Oxford, where he graduated, he laboured early and late to acquire knowledge, and attain the highest honours open to him. As became a younger son who had his way to make in the world—for he was only Lord Robert Cecil in those days—he spared neither time nor trouble in equipping himself completely for the hard, up-hill struggle of those who set themselves to scale the steps of young Ambition's ladder. He became one of the brightest ornaments of his University, and was ultimately elected to a Fellowship in All Souls' College. Whether it has been for the benefit of academic corporations at Oxford that young Robert Cecil was once a Fellow of All Souls' is perhaps rather a moot point. No doubt he had ample opportunity in those days, when he meditated in scholarly retirement on the banks of the Isis, to acquire a very minute personal experience of what he has since, in a stinging epigram, nicknamed "idle Fellowships." Perhaps it was then that he began to marvel at the anomalous condition in which academic promotion stands as compared with professional advancement in other walks of life. To a nature like his, which was positively greedy of toil, to a mind which—if we may venture on a paradox—was never at rest save when busily working, it must have occurred as strangely illogical that in the University system of England a young man's success brings him not increased labour and higher responsibilities, but as much immunity from duty or toil as he pleases to enjoy. The experience he gained in those days has found terse and epigrammatic expression in one of the Marquis's speeches delivered in support of his University Bill, of which the gist lies in the following striking passage:—"A sum of £250 or £300 is attached to Fellowships to which no duties are attached, and the man who receives it may, if he chooses, remain idle for life. No one would now for the first time suggest such a thing as that. It is not only out of all proportion to the service for which it is a reward, but it is out of all keeping with the course adopted in respect of all other positions in life. If a man succeeds in the Army, you promote him, but give him a more responsible command. In the Church, if a man succeeds, you make him a bishop, and give him ten times the amount of labour. In the Civil Service, when you give a man increased pay, you call on him to fill an office of higher trust. Only in this case of Fellowships to which no duties are attached do you reward merit by absolute idleness."

All Souls' in those days, we may say, was a club rather than a college—a luxurious academic retreat, where intellect and high social position rather than academic honours pure and simple gave a man weight and authority in the corporation. Indeed, the election of Lord Robert Cecil to a Fellowship in All Souls' was due not so much to what he had done as to what was hoped of him. His University career had been one of great promise rather than ascertained performance. His health had given way under the strain of hard and discursive study, and when he graduated he had to content himself with only fourth-class honours in mathematics.

When Lord Robert Cecil left the University he betook himself to political life. As a matter of course he was returned to the House of Commons in 1853 by the borough of Stamford, where the influence and popularity of the Salisbury family are so great that it always affords a safe seat for any scions of this noble house who are ambitious of figuring in public life. When he entered Parliament, Lord Robert Cecil was, we need hardly say, a hot partisan of the Tories; and he very soon began to make a figure in the House. Want of courage certainly was not

his failing. He began to deliver speeches which soon attracted the attention of the leaders of both sides in politics. We daresay they bethought them that again, as in Walpole's days, the traditional party managers were going to have their lives made miserable by the invasion of another "terrible cornet of horse." Lord Robert Cecil had no diffidence in criticising the foremost statesmen of the time. Neither age, reputation, nor rank awed him into silence, and he seemed to delight in deliberately measuring himself in conflict against all the most renowned and experienced gladiators of debate. Looking back at these youthful efforts of his, we daresay the Marquis of Salisbury would himself admit there is much in them which he would willingly forget. Life was rather hard and bitter for the member for Stamford in the days of his impetuous youth. The path he trod was one in which his feet were by no means likely to be meshed with flowers. His proud spirit ill brooked control; he became somewhat estranged from his family, and consequently from "the world"—or that portion of it that looks askance on a young man of high birth who dares to be independent, and "quarrel with his bread and butter." It was not wholly a matter of choice that led Lord Robert Cecil to take to literature, or rather journalism, and eke out his somewhat slender resources by his pen. It did not help to make him more popular amongst his caste when people began to whisper that the *Saturday Review* owed much of its brilliance to his caustic articles; and that even the *Standard* newspaper had enlisted the bitter wit of the member for Stamford in its service. Though socially this may not have tended to brighten his prospects, yet in the world of politics it did him no harm. It secured for him a certain amount of consideration and respect, which, though possibly in many cases the offspring of fear and dislike, probably did much to increase his influence as a member of Parliament. Yet, like his first speeches, his early writings are said by those who knew him well to have been crude, and not at all indicative that the author had in him the elements of great success as a contributor to periodical literature. It is stated that he toiled most patiently and tractably under the editor of the *Saturday Review* to acquire the art or knack of throwing off trenchant and effective political essays, and that it was only by slow and laborious perseverance and practice that he became the powerful political reviewer he is reputed to be at present.

At this period of his career both his writings and speeches are spoiled by being overweighted with political cynicism. Acridity is the too monotonous characteristic of them all. Not very long ago Mr. Disraeli called him a master of jibes and jeers, and the remark reminds us how, as Lord Robert Cecil, he assumed in the House of Commons an attitude of defiant and proud isolation. He treated even the leaders of his own political party with the cool tolerance of disdain when he happened to differ from them, and he flung about, reckless of whose feelings he stung, polished personalities, bitter, savage, and contemptuous as those of the "most chartered libertine of debate." Yet, making allowance for youthful crudities it was very plain that Lord Robert Cecil had a talent for ready political criticism, a logical vigour, and a gift of keen, piercing insight into weak spots in an antagonist's case, that made him a dangerous foe to deal with. Nothing can be more perilous to a rising politician than to acquire such a reputation as he bore at this time—the reputation of being a cynic, a scoffer, a savage wit, a man who may be expected to say "a good thing" on whatever subject he speaks, and whose ever-present temptation is of course to say it, no matter whether it be wise or foolish, true or false. It has been well said, that when a politician gets to this stage, he is at the turning-point of his career. If he be satisfied with his reputation for clever criticism and smart vitriolic rhetoric, then he is doomed all his life to remain a bold partisan skirmisher, or a supple gladiator of debate. His political life, no matter

how full of hope and promise it may have been, will, in the long run, come to nought. But Lord Robert Cecil was born to fill a higher destiny. Fortune had it in store for him that he should yet be a great practical administrator, and sit amongst those who "mould a mighty State's decrees, and shape the whispers of a throne." On the death of his elder brother, he became Lord Cranborne, and heir to the title and possessions of the family. He had been born to greatness, and now, like Malvolio, he had not only achieved it for himself, but was apparently soon destined to have it thrust upon him. Fortune and the world began both to smile upon him again. A young man who is heir to one of the wealthiest marquisates in England, who is also a member of the House of Commons, who is gifted with abundant powers of invective and a genuine taste for their free use, becomes, no matter what his antecedents may have been, a person of great political consequence. The Tory party began to find that Viscount Cranborne was something more than a mere flippant cynic or smart journalist. Their leaders began to see they must secure the services and friendship of a man who, even in the days when he was an aristocratic Bohemian, winning his spurs in journalism and literature, was able, by his bitter attacks in the *Quarterly Review* on the Derby-Disraeli Administration of 1856, to prevent them forming a Ministry, thus paving the way for Palmerston and the Whigs to return to office. The "Extreme Right" now bethought themselves that Lord Cranborne might turn out the rising hope of the old Church and State party. They fancied that, even if their own chiefs should venture to betray them, as Peel did the Protectionists, they would have, in Viscount Cranborne, one whose tongue was admirably qualified to give the most galling expression to the bitterness of their disappointment—one who would be to Mr. Disraeli that thorn in the flesh that Mr. Disraeli had been to Sir Robert Peel. The heir to the house of Salisbury was, in fact, now regarded as the most promising statesman of the most thorough section of the Tory party in England.

During this period, Lord Cranborne began to soften and settle down into something more statesmanlike than he had hitherto been. His speeches were still full of that caustic precision of phrase, that intense vigour of argumentation, which, trained in a school of journalism leavened by the traditional influence of Gifford and Maginn, he had acquired by constant practice as a writer for the press. There was still much of the political Bohemian in his character, manifesting itself mainly in a strong love of independence and an impatience of the conventional bondage of party discipline. His ideas, however, became riper, his views of men and things gradually broadened out, and the bitter cynicism which disfigured the speeches in his younger days mellowed into a kind of polished but not ungenial satire. His addresses were weightier, and his utterances had less and less of that flippant fluency of sarcasm which is the characteristic of what Mr. Disraeli calls the "heedless rhetoric" usually spoken "below the gangway." Lord Cranborne about this period began to find, or to fancy he had found, his real path in life. The epoch of compromise and quiet over which Lord Palmerston had presided with glib and jaunty grace was passing away, and the death of that great statesman left Parliament face to face with the *spectre rouge* of a democratic reform. The sleeping tribunes of the people woke up to a sense of their power, and saw, in the death of the apostle of political compromise, an opportunity for demanding an extension of political power for the masses. It is within the memory of most of us how eagerly the heart of the country leaped up in responsive sympathy to the tempestuous agitation roused by Mr. Bright, and how, when the Liberal Government that succeeded Lord Palmerston's administration proposed a moderate measure of reform, the aristocratic and many of the wealthy classes took fright, and began to dread the inauguration of an era of revolution.

Lord Cranborne threw himself boldly into the fore-front of the fight, and became one of the ablest and most conspicuous champions of the Conservative party of resistance. There can be no doubt that his brilliant speeches did much to give the Reform party their first check. They roused the opponents of an extended suffrage to a keen sense of those fancied dangers which were conjured up at that time. The biting wit of his lordship did much also to provoke a retaliatory enthusiasm in the ranks of the Radicals, though it must be owned that even such a staunch advocate of popular rights as Mr. Bright openly declared that whatever part Lord Cranborne had taken in the controversy had been perfectly consistent throughout, and irreproachably honest. Indeed, it would almost seem as if the member for Stamford had brooded too deeply over the history of the great French Revolution and the scenes of the Reign of Terror, whose blood-stained records have frightened many a strong-minded man into rigid Toryism. At this time, he seemed to have felt it his mission to do that which the late Lord Derby, with impulsive heedlessness, said he had assumed office to accomplish, namely, "stem the tide of democracy." The difference between the two men was this, that the "Rupert of Debate" was a little apt to commit himself in hot haste to a statement of which he sometimes repented at leisure. Lord Cranborne, on the other hand, weighed his words well, and felt as a matter of keen and burning conviction that democracy was a bad thing, that it was sweeping over the land, and that it was right and proper to "stem its tide" by every legitimate means open to him to use. Up to a certain point, both politicians went together. They defeated the first Reform Bill. But, instead of stemming the democratic tide, the Earl of Derby suddenly turned round and began to swim with it, floating on the crests of its strongest billows into popularity and power. When the Conservative party came into power, Lord Derby had the good sense to make Viscount Cranborne Secretary of State for India. This was a politic move. The office was one which could not be without its fascinations for the member for Stamford. It was one of imperial control; it suited his somewhat austere and imperious temperament; it involved enormous responsibility; it therefore was one well fitted for a man whose ideal of public life was peculiarly high, and to whom the responsibilities of a political career as an administrator appealed more strongly than to most men—responsibility was just the very atmosphere in which an austere and high-toned nature like Viscount Cranborne's was certain to develop and even bloom—and, lastly, the office was one which bore along with it what may be called Herculean labour, and Lord Cranborne, as we have said, was always over-greedy of absolutely hard work. Perhaps Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, calculating on the painfully conscientious nature of their new Indian Secretary, expected that he would busy himself so much in mastering the details of his office that he would have little time or attention to devote to the general policy of the Government; and in the case of one who had hitherto been remarkable for his rugged independence of party ties, as well as for his power as a Parliamentary debater and acrid critic, it may have been thought well to muzzle him as closely as possible. In one respect, the chiefs of the then Government were not disappointed. Lord Cranborne devoted himself to his duties as Indian Secretary with an energy and a zeal that were almost unheard of in the annals of the India Office. Never was there a more faithful, conscientious, or laborious public servant. As an administrator, he became, in spite of his caustic tongue, absolutely popular. Even amongst the Liberals, everybody was ready to bear testimony to the zeal with which he toiled, late and early, at his duties, and the patience and ability he displayed in making himself a master of the dry and complex details of his work. Nothing could be more marked than the change wrought on him by the cares and toil of office. He seemed to understand that flippant

cynicism no longer became one who was a responsible Minister of State. An obvious sense of conscientious responsibility pervaded his lightest utterances on anything connected with Indian affairs. His predecessor, Lord Halifax, had made himself unpopular in the House of Commons by his long, loose, incoherent, and almost inaudible official statements. Lord Cranborne, on the other hand, stood out in brilliant contrast to the ex-Indian Secretary, for his speeches were brief as the soul of wit itself, terse as epigrams, and as lucid as the most masterly demonstrations of Euclid. But as the months of the Derby-Disraeli Ministry ran on, the Government began to yield to the demands of the Reformers. Bit by bit, they conceded even more than the Liberals had promised or the Radicals dared to hope for; and Lord Cranborne's proud and inflexible love of consistency and fair dealing, his earnest devotion to Conservative principles, his honest conviction that the cause of good and orderly Government was being betrayed, led him to secede from the Cabinet.

It was a bold and uncompromising act; but it made him far more popular even amongst the democracy, whom he handled pretty roughly in his speeches, than the more pliable Ministers who gave way to their demands. Everybody knew what a sore sacrifice he made. At the very moment when he was developing into the first rank of statesmanship, and gaining that official experience of administration without which it is impossible for a man to become a great Minister, he felt himself bound either to step aside from the active life of politics, or sacrifice his most cherished political convictions. The unhesitating way in which he made his choice, and followed the dictates of his conscience, even at the almost certain risk of shipwrecking his public career, was regarded by the people and by his most hostile critics as a grand example of that high-toned feeling of honour which characterises the political demeanour of the older aristocratic houses of England. Soon after this (in 1868) the death of his father made him Marquis of Salisbury, and he was removed to the House of Lords. Nothing could more plainly indicate the high regard with which Lord Cranborne was viewed by all classes and parties than this—that over the whole country his good fortune was hailed with a universal expression of regret. Everybody deplored the removal of Lord Cranborne from the House of Commons as if it were a national calamity. Everybody lamented his departure to the Upper House as the sudden withdrawal of a most wholesome, conscientious, useful, and honourable influence from the Supreme Council of the nation. Even his bitterest foes sorrowed over his translation to the House of Lords as a cruel stroke of fate, exposing him to the doom of arrested development as a statesman. They wrote as though they were drawing up his political epitaph, and laying the last wreath of compliment and respect on his political coffin. In the following year he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford—much to the disappointment of a large section of graduates who had set their hearts on Lord Carnarvon as their favourite candidate. The Marquis of Salisbury, however, is an excellent representative of that keen intellectual type of criticism which Oxford develops abundantly, and his austere devotion to Church and State, his well-known inflexibility of character in sticking to his principles, won him the almost unanimous support of the academic electors.

We need not say that the gloomy apprehensions as to his career in the Upper House to which we have referred have not been fulfilled. The "terrible Marquis," as he is called sometimes, was not the man to have the fire of his political life quenched even by the aristocratic monotony and chilling dulness of the House of Lords. He soon roused the Upper Chamber of the Legislature to a sense of its great power, and showed the nation that it was good for something more than merely registering the decisions of the House of Commons. To his credit be it said that

what Lord Cranborne learnt in the rough-and-ready school of the Commons the Marquis of Salisbury has not forgotten in the more exalted Chamber in which he now sits. His development has not been arrested. His elevation to a seat amongst the Peers marks the advent of another epoch of self-improvement in his political life as distinctly an advance on that which characterised his career as Viscount Cranborne, as that was on the period during which he skirmished with politics as Lord Robert Cecil, the cynical member for Stamford. As a competent Conservative critic has said of him, "He has taken another forward step himself, and he has shown a breadth of statesmanship presenting a strange contrast to the hard and narrow views with which he originally began life." He has even done more, for he has "given the House of Lords an additional hold upon the respect and esteem of the public, and has added greatly to its legislative and deliberative strength." Lord Salisbury's mind is a field in which, as has been well observed, there is a strange conflict going on between the ideas of early aristocratic associations and those gained from culture and experience of the world. Perhaps the one weakness of his political character is love of enlightened despotism, which he not unfairly regards as the best, and swiftest, and therefore the most beneficial, form of government possible for mankind. Laboriously, patiently, and with blameless and unswerving conscientiousness does he think out and work out the true and right method of effecting any given reform or act of administration. To his ardent heart it is then unbearable that there should be any obstacles, even constitutional ones, placed in the way of converting his idea into a fact. His logical instincts, for example, in combination with his toilsome study of the conditions of Indian Government have convinced him that the semi-despotic authority which the late Mr. Mill contended should be vested in the Secretary of State is a wise and good thing. He therefore insists that the Viceroy and Council at Calcutta shall enact no great laws without consulting him and his successors at home. Were every Secretary of State as able and conscientious as the Marquis of Salisbury, probably his favourite idea of "governing India by telegraph" might be more placidly regarded by our Eastern officials; just as if every Royal Commissioner were like himself, his pet scheme of University Reform might not awaken distrust in those who are not convinced that it will be wise to hand over the administration and power of re-arranging the endowments of Oxford and Cambridge to a board of special commissioners, armed with almost absolute power.

Of late years Lord Salisbury has been becoming a great favourite amongst a class who long regarded him with anything but amicable feelings. It is said that even his old foe Mr. Bright and he are on the friendliest of terms now; and there certainly is no Conservative statesman who is so much respected by that great manufacturing class usually designated by the term "Manchester men." For though he was, in times gone by, when he used to be described as a "clever young man whose head was on fire," a distinguished ornament of the Protectionist party, Lord Salisbury is now not only a keen free-trader, but has done and dared much to advance the interests of free-traders. The innovations he has introduced into the traditional policy of the India Office have made him justly popular with that section of the Liberal party known as the "Manchester school." As is perhaps well known, the local Governments of India impose a protective import duty on British manufactured cotton goods, so that our merchants trade at a disadvantage as compared with those of India. Lord Salisbury has used all his influence—indeed, it may be said he has absolutely strained his authority—to induce, or rather force, Indian officials to free our trade from this impost by a process of gradual repeal. It is the controversy which this policy has raised that has indirectly led to his lordship's promulgating the notion that India, to be well and wisely governed, must be ruled more directly from Westminster than has hitherto been the

case—an idea which of course has been the subject of much hot debate at home and in the East, and regarding which it is not our business at present to concern ourselves very deeply.

As to Lord Salisbury's appearance and manner of speaking, a careful and friendly critic says: "About both there is something hardly to be described, but which young ladies would indicate by the much-abused word 'interesting,' and which we may endeavour to communicate by the word 'melancholy.' It is but seldom his fine powerful face does not wear a certain air of melancholy, and the tones of his voice are as a rule subdued and plaintive. He is an effective speaker, terse, clear, and vigorous at all times; and though not eloquent in the ordinary acceptation of the word—that is to say, not rhetorical in his speech—he is never feeble, and he frequently speaks with remarkable power. Now that the acidity of his earlier years is passing away—nothing but a grateful flavour remaining to remind us of what he once was—no one can fail to derive pleasure from listening to him when he is speaking upon any question of importance; and the dignity and courtesy which, as a rule, characterise his manner well befit the place in which he now holds such a distinguished position." If we were asked to describe Lord Salisbury's political attitude in the briefest possible way, we should say that he is the leader of conscientious Conservatism in England.

In July, 1857, his lordship married Georgina, eldest daughter of the Hon. Sir Edward Hall Alderson, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. The eldest son and heir apparent is James Edward Hubert, Viscount Cranborne, who was born in 1861.

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Sir Michael Costa.

THE name of Costa occurs with great frequency in musical annals, not fewer than fifteen persons of that same patronymic finding places in the best biographical histories of the art. Though the most celebrated of those persons have been Italian, five or six of their number were Portuguese, and it is from Portugal that the name seems originally to have come. A composer of church music, highly esteemed in the reigns of Alfonso VI. and Pedro II., was one Francisco da Costa, a priest of the Order of the Trinity, attached to the Royal Chapel. Dying young, he left in manuscript several works, which are preserved in the palace at Lisbon. In Italy the name is wide-spread; and there have been Costas, distinguished by their musical attainments and productions, whose nativities are severally assignable to Genoa, Brescia, Venice, and Rome. Margharita Costa, the Ferrarese, celebrated in the Latin writings of Giovanni Rossi (Nicius Erythræus), was a poetess as well as a singer of high repute in the first half of the seventeenth century. To each of her poems she gave, fancifully, the name of some instrument of music; and "Il Violino," for instance, is a plaintively beautiful love-song.

Naples, which has given birth to, has fostered, or has ripened a great proportion of the *corps d'élite* of European musicians, is the city in which the subject of our present memoir first saw the light; in which, too, he received his earliest tuition in the divine art he has wooed with so eminent a success, and in which he gave the first notable proofs of his gift, and the first justification of the pains that had been bestowed on its cultivation. Sir Michael Costa was born in that city to set eyes on which, according to the boastful old proverb, is a felicity that leaves for him who has once attained it nothing else than to die. But *Vedi Napoli è poi muori,* fortunately for the world of musical dilettantism, was not the motto practically adopted by the young Michael Costa. Destined to make the acquaintance of other cities and men, he quitted the place of his birth in early manhood for England, and England has since been the country of his adoption.

Born almost in the shadow of the old Teatro Reale di San Carlo, the destruction of which grand opera-house by fire was one of the most memorable events of his childhood, Costa displayed in his very earliest years a marked predilection for music. The date of his birth was February 4th, 1810. Some uncertainty prevails with respect to this artist's life previous to his English career. It is certain, however, that before the year 1828, when he left one of the loveliest and most poetical regions of Italy for the smoky streets of Birmingham, he had given earnest of his capacity for important work. Rapid progress in study had fitted him while a mere lad for entrance to the Naples Academy, where he became the pupil of Tritto, one of the most eminent musical professors of that day in Italy. To Zingarelli he also owed in great part his musical education. A cantata, entitled, "L'Immagine," was the first fruit of Michael Costa's well-trained endowment; and the work, given to the Academy, received encouraging praise in return.

He quickly followed up his first success with a second cantata, "Il Delitto punito," which confirmed the favourable impression produced by his former work. His first opera, "Il Cariere d' Ildegonda," produced at the Teatro Nuovo, though now sunk in deepest oblivion, is nevertheless said to have made a hit, and to have kept possession of the stage during an entire season. A more daring, but scarcely as successful, attempt was an opera called "Malvina," which was accepted and produced at the new San Carlo. Albeit this opera was performed at several Italian theatres, its popularity was short-lived, nor can it ever have given much hope of longevity. Costa published in London several *morceaux de chant*, and notably a *quatuor en canon*, which had the good fortune of being sung by Pasta, Malibran, Rubini, and Tamburini.

When, in 1828, he sailed from Naples for England, to take part in the Birmingham Festival of that year, he was entrusted by his former master, Zingarelli, with a composition, the tenor part in which had been written for him. He sang it with moderate success. Musician-like even to the high point of satisfying his most critical countrymen, the vocalisation of Costa was yet far from being his greatest recommendation. As a pianist and generally useful musician, Costa worked his way for two or three years; and in 1830 he was engaged as *repetitore*, or accompanyist and superintendent of rehearsals, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket.

In time he succeeded, as the phrase is, to the *bâton* of Signor Bochsa; but as a matter of fact, Bochsa and all *chefs d'orchestre* up to Costa's time were simply first fiddles, and led, or conducted, when necessary, with the bow. It was Costa who founded in England the order of conductor, and who introduced the wand as *bâton* in lieu of the fiddlestick. In the first two years of his engagement at the Italian Opera House, he composed the music of three ballets, a class of entertainment then hardly deemed second to opera. The same themes, indeed, often served for both species of amusement; and such dancers and pantomimists as Taglioni, Brochard, Proche, and Zoe Beaupré carried the story of Masaniello through three long and elaborate acts, to the music of Musard, with as lofty a sense of their art as could have been felt by the first singers in their interpretation of Auber. The mere fact that it was then customary to supply the interval between the two representations, opera and ballet, with what was called a "divertissement," sufficiently indicates the solid estimation in which the ballet was held. The first of the three spectacular pieces to which Costa furnished the musical introductions and accompaniments was founded on Sir Walter Scott's then really new novel, "Kenilworth;" and it ran brilliantly, with few alternations, through the first season of the new conductor's engagement. In the following year he produced another ballet, "Une Henre à Naples," which was succeeded by "Sire Huon," the fable being identical with that of Weber's "Oberon."

During all this time Signor Costa—he had not then assumed his English designation, Mr. Costa, so long familiar on operatic programmes—was winning golden opinions by his skilful direction of the orchestra. His countryman, Lablache, bore ready testimony to the efficient zeal of the young *chef d'orchestre;* nor did Madame Pasta, or the great tenor, Rubini, chief among the stars of 1831, withhold the meed of commendation and encouragement. Costa's first season at the King's Theatre was chiefly marked by the performance of Rossini's "Otello," Donizetti's "Anna Boleyn," Gnecco's "La Prova d'un Opera Seria," and Bellini's "La Sonnambula," in which operas the principal vocalists were Madame Pasta, Madame Castelli, and the Signors Rubini, Santini, and Lablache.

In January, 1837, an opera by Costa, called "Malek Adel," was brought out at the Italian

Opera in Paris. "Malek Adel"—in which certain musical historians have professed to discover their old friend "Malvina" with a new face—was supported by Grisi and Albertazzi, Rubini, Ivanoff, Tamburini, and Lablache, who strove their utmost to make the production successful; but all would not do. Nevertheless, "Malek Adel" was tried in the ensuing London season, when it was found by English audiences quite as unacceptable, and was pronounced by English critics to be altogether wanting in dramatic colour or strength of outline. In 1844 he produced at Her Majesty's Theatre his opera, "Don Carlos," which in every respect was a marked improvement on "Malek Adel," and was acknowledged on all hands to be more than a *succès d'estime*. Two years later, the post of conductor of the Philharmonic Concerts was accepted by Mr. Costa; and much was hoped from his energy and power of organisation.

For some years he continued to uphold the character of the great musical society, chief of those associations for the cultivation of the highest order of music, which may justly be said to owe their origin and subsequent flourishing growth to the taste and skill in harmony distinguishing the Royal Family of England. Designed to encourage instrumental and especially orchestral music, the Philharmonic Society's concerts were adding to their prestige by the agency of the most skilful leader of concerted music in modern times, when an untoward dispute led to Mr. Costa's resignation.

It was in 1847, the year preceding the general disturbance of European dynasties, that a great change was brought about in operatic affairs by the split in the camp of Her Majesty's Theatre. What was called the "Grisi Cabal" led to a formidable disruption, the planned effect of which was the establishment of a second Italian Opera. Into the story of the feud which, in its result, was a boon to the London public—or that large section of it addicted to the lyric drama—we need not enter with much elaboration of detail. Poor Mr. Lumley, deprived of such invaluable support as he had received from Grisi, Mario, Costa, and others only second to them in reputation, cast about almost in despair for some strong counter-attraction. Luckily at that time Europe had begun to echo with wonderful reports of a young vocalist, the daughter of a teacher of languages in Stockholm. Meyerbeer had met her in Paris, whither she had gone to study under Garcia, not without discouragement, and had tried in vain to induce her to accept an engagement at Berlin. Jenny Lind was the daughter of a teacher of languages in the Swedish capital, and had from infancy shown marvellous gifts of song. Her sobriquet of "The Swedish Nightingale" was well deserved. At three years of age she could sing correctly any piece she had once heard; and at nine she was placed, by the advice of Madame Lundberg, a celebrated actress at Stockholm, under the great master Croelius, who soon recommended her to Count Pücke, manager of the Court Theatre. The count, however, guided more by the judgment of eyes than ears, and struck by the young singer's want of regular beauty—though indeed her face was so expressive as at times to flash with an extraordinary beauty of its own, the beauty of intelligent genius—declined to engage her. But it so happened that an Alice was suddenly wanted in a performance of the fourth act of Meyerbeer's "Robert le Diable" at a concert; and not one of the competent *soprani* of Stockholm could be persuaded to take so insignificant a part. In dire extremity, Berg, the director of the Swedish Academy, applied to Jenny Lind. The humble, patient, studious young musician had for a time lost the characteristic power and sweetness of her voice; but both qualities returned as if by beneficent magic on this occasion. She made the little part of Alice great. It was in this character that her first triumph in London, some years afterwards, was achieved; but she had still an interval of toil to struggle over. It is true that, for a year and a half from her great hit in Stockholm,

she remained the star of the Opera there, in spite of Count Pücke's timid æstheties. But, as may be supposed, her ambition led her to accept this engagement at a trifling salary; and it was only by working hard, and singing at innumerable concerts throughout Sweden and Norway, that she accumulated a sum large enough to take her to Paris and pay for the best vocal instruction. Still with true Scandinavian patriotism she withstood the tempting offers of the great Prussian composer, flattered though she must have felt by the praise of one in whose music her first success had been gained, and returned to her native city, Stockholm. In 1844 she went to Dresden, and in 1845 she sang at the *fêtes* on the Rhine, during Queen Victoria's visit to Germany. After visits to Frankfort, to Cologne, and to Vienna, Jenny Lind's fame reached England—reached, especially, the eager ears of the forlorn impresario of Her Majesty's Theatre, who lost no time in securing the priceless gem.

It is scarcely apart from our purpose to speak of Jenny Lind's triumph at Her Majesty's Theatre; for collaterally it relates to and throws a light upon the history of the rival season at the Royal Italian Opera. The Swedish Nightingale's *début* was made, as already observed, in her own old *rôle* of Alice. To this succeeded Amina, in "La Sonnambula," Norma, and other characters, in all of which she was alike magnificently successful. A sort of sentiment grew rapidly around her homely name. It was a household word with millions who never heard her, never saw her, never had the remotest chance of seeing or hearing her. Strangely enough, her popularity was greatest among such outside sections; and this with no disparagement of her true artistic fame. Puritanism itself warmed into heroine-worship for the time; and the Swedish Nightingale's sturdiest admirers were actually and openly disclosed among the Society of Friends. A bishop implored her to quit the stage; and this attempt to deprive the musical public of their idol drew from Douglas Jerrold a characteristic protest in *Punch*.

While hundreds of thousands of the British people, innocent of any design to puff the flapping sails of Mr. Lumley's fortunes, were thus blending their breaths in universal praise of Jenny Lind, there was a lively opposition which took the tone of not ill-natured ridicule, and was far from wanting in shrewd justice or common-sense. A few rebellious spirits who had broken loose from *Punch*, and were regarded as a sort of fallen angels therefore, squibbed the Nightingale mania merrily. Covent Garden had opened in strength, without much aid of meretricious excitement. The band and chorus, held in firm hand by Costa, carried all before them. No such *ensemble* could be hoped for at the old house, routed as its forces had been past speedy recovery; and then, as for leading talents, Grisi, Alboni, and Mario were upheld by the rebel wits against the sentimental blandishments of "Jenny Lind's penny whistle"—a phrase, by-the-by, that could not prevail against the terse verdict of Lablache—"Every note a pearl."

Costa, no doubt, contributed handsomely to the legitimate attraction of the Royal Italian Opera. The superior fitness of the theatre for spectacle, such as the Meyerbeer class of opera imperatively demands, gave to Covent Garden some material advantage; a stage-management so able as to deserve the name of generalship did something too; spirited engagements of great artists did more; but all would have been unavailing without the zeal of a conductor absolutely unrivalled for the maintenance of orchestral unity. Sir Michael Costa has been accused, justly or unjustly we shall not here decide, of sometimes sacrificing voices to the grandeur of instrumental harmony; but no one has attempted to deny that this latter is supreme in his hands. He plays on his orchestra as on one great instrument; and if he has now and then seemed to drown an over-delicate passage of vocalisation, he has oftener, on the other hand, covered defects, and turned them into beauties. A splendidly dramatic but not otherwise impressive baritone, and a basso-profondo, whose nickname

was "The Shouter," once sang Bellini's martial duet, "Suona la tromba," in such style as would hardly have rendered the melody distinguishable had it been unaccompanied. But Costa's *bâton* brought them through, and, what is more, made the house ring with a rapturous demand for repetition, as the two singers struck each his attitude, and went off at opposite sides. "I always thought," said R., the baritone, "that I sang more out of tune than any man on the stage, but F. beats me to-night." And on went F. and R. to sound the trumpet once again in queer concord of discordancy. The might of Costa's magnificent band had been the saving of those tuneless ones. The perfection to which this Homeric leader had drilled his army may be significantly told in a simple, brief, and authentic statement of fact. It was no uncommon thing with Mario, in his waning period, to feel apprehensive of an accident with his highest note, and, therefore, to request that his music might be lowered that evening half a tone. Indulging the great tenor in his need, every man of the splendid orchestra would, at sight, transpose the reading of his part in the score by that half-tone. True, it ought to be within the individual capacity of every musician playing in a great orchestra to do this with ease and certainty; but, as a matter of fact, the band consisting wholly of such competent instrumentalists is seldom found. Difficult though it may be to transpose music at sight on any orchestral instrument, it is manifestly a far more trying feat to accomplish the same task on the piano. But Sir Michael Costa, and, indeed, other accomplished musicians having to accompany new and elaborate compositions for the voice, have often been known, at first sight of the notes, to change the music to any given key suitable to the singer. The match between the two great opera-houses conduced to the fame of Costa, which grew day by day. His influence on the music of his time has been more felt than that of any other man. As conductor of the Sacred Harmonic Society, and, in later years, of the great Handel Festivals at the Crystal Palace, he has proved again and again the supremacy of his skill in handling masses of harmony. That he should not, sooner than the year 1855, have tried his hand on the composition of an oratorio is, considering the familiarity he had long before gained with the works of the great masters, somewhat surprising. "Eli" was produced at Birmingham in the year just mentioned. The principal singers were Madame Castellan, Madame Viardot-Garcia, Mr. Sims Reeves, Mr. Weiss, and Herr Formes. In 1856 the work was presented at Exeter Hall, before the Queen and the Prince Consort, the chief artists being Madame Rudersdorff, Miss Dolby, Mr. Sims Reeves, Mr. Lewis Thomas, and Mr. Weiss. On both occasions, it is almost superfluous to note, Mr. Costa conducted the performance of his oratorio. That he was warmly congratulated on the execution of his work by so competent a body of artists, and still more on the inherent merit of the production, might also be taken for granted as a thing of course; for the personal favour with which he was regarded both by the Queen and the Prince had interested them deeply in his bold artistic enterprise; and, as connoisseurs, they were naturally rejoiced to find their best anticipations justified. The production of "Eli" had, in fact, delighted all classes of musical amateurs; and an assemblage of noblemen and gentlemen, over whom Lord Willoughby de Broke presided, joined in a magnificent and costly presentation, as a testimonial of esteem.

Under the direction of Costa, many important compositions have been introduced to the world. The operas which London has heard for the first time, with incalculable advantage, through his agency, will always be associated with his name; and at those musical festivals of which local choirs have so strong a reason to be proud he has again and again helped earnestly and effectively in bringing out the original works of our most eminent or still rising composers. The importance of the service thus rendered to art, in each case, must be measured by the undoubted fact that the performances which he organised and superintended were finer than

any that had yet been heard in England. The year 1864 stands prominently forth in musical annals. In that year Costa followed his permanently popular work, "Eli," with another oratorio, "Naaman." The Festival of the Three Choirs, held that year at Hereford, was succeeded with only a few days' interval by the Birmingham Musical Festival, which brought three noted and noteworthy works before the world. First in the week's programme came the anxiously expected "Naaman," of which we shall presently speak. Chronicling a second new work, the chief of modern musical critics wrote thus in the *Times* newspaper:—"A more honest and frank success than that obtained by Mr. Henry Smart's new cantata is scarcely on record. The audience seemed to incline to it from the beginning, and as the performance went on their interest visibly increased. In truth, 'The Bride of Dunkerron' is of its kind a masterpiece. Its composer, though long esteemed by amateurs as the author of many highly-finished and graceful songs, part-songs, for chorus, of equal merit, and admirable pieces for the organ—an instrument in the art of playing on which he is a consummate master—has never till now been allowed a favourable opportunity of publicly vindicating his claim to distinction as one of the most gifted and accomplished of living musicians." A cantata by Mr. Arthur Sullivan, at that time a very young man, was the third novelty; and it is curious that he should have chosen for his subject the story of "Kenilworth," which was, as we have noticed, a youthful theme of Costa's own selection. And now we come to the oratorio of "Naaman," with which the Birmingham Festival of 1864 opened. Mr. Costa had the splendid aid of a body of vocalists quite unsurpassable in that day. They were Mdlle. Adelina Patti, Madame Sainton-Dolby, Madame Rudersdorff, Miss Palmer, Mr. Santley, Mr. Sims Reeves, and Mr. Cummings. The critic, whose discriminative and well-merited eulogy of Mr. Henry Smart's brilliant cantata we have quoted, spoke thus of the Neapolitan and his new work:—"The point of view from which Mr. Costa regards oratorio is no doubt the same as that embraced by Mendelssohn in writing 'Elijah,' with the exception that while Mendelssohn in that great masterpiece almost wholly discarded the strict scholastic forms, Mr. Costa in several instances adopts them, as Mendelssohn adopted them in his first oratorio, 'St. Paul.' In 'St. Paul' Mendelssohn, though glowing with creative power, looked back to Handel and to Bach—witness his fugues and his chorales—while in 'Elijah' he got rid of Handel altogether, though still adhering to the chorale so cherished by the famous Leipsic *cantor*. The employment of florid counterpoint, as accompaniments, during the procession of strict fugue, as it appears in Mendelssohn's works, may be claimed as Mendelssohn's own invention. Now, Mr. Costa has looked at Mendelssohn from every point of view except that of style. Both in 'Eli' and 'Naaman' we find endeavours at the Handelian fugue, and at the chorale of Bach—seen through the vista through which they were lovingly and anxiously scanned by Mendelssohn, as well as of the fugue with florid counterpoint which belongs more essentially to that composer. On the other hand, Mr. Costa's style is Mr. Costa's own. He neither imitates Mendelssohn nor any other master. His melody, though it flows with the grace and freedom of Italian melody, is not the melody of Rossini, much less that of Bellini, least of all that of Verdi—the three Italians of the present century whose individuality is the most striking and, therefore, the most alluring to a musician who, unable to invent melody himself, unconsciously, and under divers aspects, appropriates the melody of his contemporaries and predecessors. Cherubini, the other great Italian, who belonged both to the last century and to this, was what even the genial and brilliant Rossini cannot claim to be—a practised master of the severest canons of art, a contrapuntist only inferior to the deepest—but in manner hardly Italian at all—certainly not what we have been accustomed to regard as Italian since Rossini filled the world with melody. The seraphic and Orphean Mass in F, and other sacred pieces of Cherubini, bring him in

closer affinity with Mozart; while the colour and turn of his phrases derive rather from Sarti and his elder compatriots. But Cherubini has no more attraction for Mr. Costa than the rest; and neither in 'Eli' nor in 'Naaman' is there a trace of his influence. It is perhaps on this account that our preference is for those parts of 'Naaman' in which the composer's own individuality and melodic fluency are left full play, while he is thinking neither of the forms of Handel nor of those of Mendelssohn, but drawing simply from his own resources. These are ample enough. Mr. Costa knows how to write for the voice, alone or in combination, as well as Rossini himself; he is a thorough master of vocal recitative, as the uniform excellence of the recitatives, accompanied or unaccompanied, in his new oratorio emphatically prove; his orchestration, always clear and sonorous, is brightly coloured, full of contrast—natural, not forced—and of happy variety, every instrument being as conveniently written for as though he were (which for aught we can say to the contrary he may be) a proficient on it himself, and every progression as satisfactory to the ear as though, while putting it on paper, he were perfectly sure of the effect that must result. There is not a weak or uncertain point, not an inharmonious combination, not a single doubtful or awkward passage to be detected from beginning to end of 'Naaman.'"

We have thought it well to recall the judgment of a most accomplished critic, at this distance of time; and we shall follow his remarks with the simple record that the thirteen encores ratified by the President, during the first public performance of "Naaman," were—"The curse of the Lord" (chorus); "I sought the Lord" (duet—Madame Sainton-Dolby and Mr. Santley); "When famine over Israel" (chorale); the Triumphal March, with chorus ("With sheathed swords and bows unstrung"); Naaman's first air (Mr. Sims Reeves); Mdlle. Adelina Patti's first air, "Haste to Samaria" (Mdlle. Patti, Miss Palmer, and Mr. Reeves); "God, who cannot be unjust" (chorus); "Lament not thus" (air—Mr. Santley); the "Sanctus;" "I dreamed I was in Heaven" ("Vision"—Madame Sainton); Adah's Prayer (Mdlle. Patti); and "Honour and glory" (quartet).

Between the production of "Eli" and "Naaman," that is to say at the beginning of the year 1858, the Princess Royal of England espoused the Crown Prince Frederick William of Prussia; and on this memorable occasion Costa wrote a cantata, which he subsequently amplified, and which cannot be omitted from the list of his considerable works. The Handel commemorative Festival, to which reference has already been made, was an event of the following year. Handel was born in 1685; so that this commemoration was clearly not the festival of his birth. It was, in fact, the centenary observance of his death-day, albeit coming a month or two after the right time, Handel having died on the 13th of April, 1759, whereas the grand performances of his principal works at the Crystal Palace began on the 20th of June, 1859, three full rehearsals having preceded it. The actual centenary festival of Handel was given in Westminster Abbey, seventy-five years before Mr. Bowley's greatest *coup* at Sydenham. Under Sir Michael Costa's direction, the Handel Festival has been triennially repeated in the same place, and may perhaps be regarded as a permanent institution.

On the 14th of April, 1869, the Queen conferred the honour of knighthood on Mr. Costa, at Windsor Castle, this mark of distinction preceding by two years a similar manifestation of Royal favour graciously bestowed on other eminent musicians. A month after Sir Michael Costa's receipt of this honourable recognition of merit at the hands of Her Majesty, the King of Wurtemburg conferred on him the Royal Order of Frederick as a mark of the admiration entertained by His Majesty for the oratorio of "Eli," performed under the composer's direction at Stuttgardt, in the previous November. Sir Michael Costa is in great request as an adviser in all great musical enterprises. Without his practical knowledge and judgment it would have

been barely possible for some of the most popular schemes to have been carried into successful operation.

Sir Michael Costa has never married. He lives unostentatiously, but with such elegance of artistic and social refinement as befits one so distinguished by natural gifts and studious accomplishments. A brother, Mr. Raphael Costa, known in musical circles as a skilful amateur, is his constant companion. Sir Michael's compositions are in style eclectic, and his musician-like quality appears to most advantage in his two oratorios, with their splendid orchestration, beautiful melodies, fugal choruses, and melancholy recitatives. He is courted by the aristocracy, and enjoys the esteem of his Royal patrons; has few intimate friends; is stedfast and honourable; at home, courteous, and entertaining by his intellectual charms; in public and in his business, austere and distant. The secret of his success may be found in his truthfulness, industry, knowledge of details, perfect discipline, determination to know neither friend nor enemy in the orchestra, and above all to that mysterious magnetic influence which alone can rule, and sway, and fashion the stubborn materials of diverse humanity.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, the Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, was born on the 28th of January, 1822. He first saw the light in a little stone cottage in the parish of Logierait, Perthshire. His father was Mr. Alexander Mackenzie; his mother Mary, the second daughter of Mr. Donald Fleming, who resided in the same parish. The cottage in which his earliest years were spent was prettily situated near where the Tummel joins the Tay. It lay in a secluded nook a few miles distant from the cathedral town of Dunkeld on the south, and with the famous pass of Killicerankie not far to the north. The surrounding district was one of supreme loveliness: in the foreground were fertile fields, and from these the eye turned to rest on the green fields and rugged mountains of the Southern Highlands. During his boyhood the subject of our memoir acquired the rudiments of knowledge at the public schools of Moulin, Dunkeld, and Perth. On his father's death, in 1836, however, his school education came to an end, and Alexander Mackenzie had to solve the first great problem in life—how to secure the means of existence. After a few years we find him residing near Irvine, on the coast of Ayrshire, and working as a stonemason. He was in a neighbourhood peculiarly rich in religious and literary associations, and his stay there marks an epoch in Mr. Mackenzie's intellectual and religious life. Irvine was his spiritual birthplace. He cast in his lot with the Baptist Church, and was baptised and admitted to the membership of the little society then existing in the town. The church was at that time under the pastoral care of the late Dr. Leechman, subsequently the minister at Hammersmith. Mr. Mackenzie still maintains his decided attachment to the Baptist communion, but has come to be a good deal of Rowland Hill's opinion—he would not cross the street to make a Baptist, but would go far out of his way to make a Christian. Many of his leisure hours were spent in intellectual improvement; he gained a wide acquaintance with general literature, and became familiar with such topics as go to form a well-trained mind. By preference, he gave his attention to political, constitutional, industrial, and social history, and acquired all the knowledge that the books at his command could give regarding the present condition of the leading nations of the world.

A change took place in 1842. In the winter of that year Mr. Mackenzie emigrated to Canada, and some years afterwards was followed by other members of his family. The brothers—seven in number—were anxious to get on, and the colony seemed to present a fair field for their energies. And—if we may be permitted to anticipate a little—by the exercise of unwearied diligence they were not disappointed; for all prospered, and came to occupy various positions of honour and influence in the land of their adoption. One of them, the late Mr. Hope F. Mackenzie, member of the Canadian Parliament for Lambton, and afterwards for North Oxford, was remarkable for his ability and force of character, and, had he been spared, would, in all probability, have come to play a distinguished part in public affairs.

The first scene of Alexander Mackenzie's colonial life was Sarnia, a village then growing into importance, situated on the banks of the beautiful St. Clair. Here he took up his residence, and, after a time, started in business as a contractor. In this he met with well-merited success, and as wealth in his opinion consisted in having enough, he was soon in easy circumstances. By all who had any dealings with him his character was readily seen and understood. It was impossible to overlook his indomitable energy, clear intellect, quick decisive judgment, and sterling integrity, as well as that earnestness of purpose which is indispensable to greatness.

Canadian politics were at this time in an excited state. A struggle was going on between Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe—then Governor-General of the colony—and his advisers on the one hand, and the great body of the people of Upper and Lower Canada on the other, in regard to what was known as "Responsible Government." A few years previously, the attention of the Imperial Legislature had been directed, in consequence of the disturbances of 1837 and the growing discontent of a large body of the colonists, to the way in which Canadian affairs were being managed under the irresponsible control of Downing Street nominees. Lord Durham was sent out to see exactly how matters lay. The result of his mission was a strong recommendation in favour of a change in the mode of government. He proposed—what the Canadian Liberals had long demanded—that "the colony should be ruled in the name of the Sovereign, by a Governor-General appointed by and responsible to the Crown, and acting under the advice of Cabinet Ministers appointed by the Crown, but having seats in the Canadian Legislature, and responsible to the Parliament of Canada for every executive act." To carry this great scheme into effect, Lord Sydenham was dispatched to the colony as Governor-General, but he unhappily died before his work was half done. The next Governor-General was Sir Charles Bagot, and the new system rapidly developed under his enlightened administration. Failing health, however, compelled him to resign early in the winter of 1842–43. Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded Sir Charles Bagot, and entered on his duties on the 29th of March, 1843. He did his best to overturn the system of popular government which had been introduced, and to rule the land in the old Downing Street fashion. The contest between Downing Street irresponsibility and popular government was long and bitter, and the country was kept in turmoil till the autumn of 1847, when Sir Charles Metcalfe retired. Lord Elgin now became Governor-General; a general election took place, the Liberals were completely triumphant at the polls, and British Parliamentary government was firmly established in the colony.

Mr. Mackenzie had not long arrived in Canada when he became deeply interested in this struggle for political rights. A Liberal at heart, as well as by education, he plunged into the thick of the fight, and did his best for the popular cause. As the world prospered with him, he determined, for the wider dissemination of his views, to obtain the direction of a newspaper. He therefore became the acknowledged editor of the *Lambton Shield*, which he conducted for several years in Sarnia. This paper was the firm and fearless advocate of Liberal interests, and commanded attention by the force of its articles and its common sense and patriotism. In this way Mr. Mackenzie did much to enlighten public opinion, and diffuse sound sentiments on political subjects in the Western district.

After the establishment of popular government, in 1848, which may be said to have begun a new era in Canadian history, many causes combined to keep the political waters in a tempestuous state. After several years of strife, carried sometimes to the extreme of bitterness, the views of Mr. Mackenzie and his friends triumphed in the legislation of 1853–54. But their

success was not obtained without a partial disruption of the Liberal party, ending in the formation of a coalition between a number of the Liberals and the Conservatives. This coalition controlled political action for many years.

The editor of the *Lambton Shield* was now well known all over the province as one of the most fearless and clear-headed advocates of reform. The prominent men of his party were numbered among his friends, his advice was sought in every dilemma, and in all party movements one might trace his growing influence. From the first he warmly opposed the coalition just mentioned, and on this account he was, in June, 1861, elected Parliamentary representative for the county of Lambton, of which Sarnia is the county town.

No sooner had he entered Parliament than Mr. Mackenzie secured the attention of the House, and took an active part in its proceedings. From this time forward he engaged in the discussion of every leading question.

Of his characteristics as a Parliamentary speaker we may say that, in the ordinary sense of the word, Mr. Mackenzie is not an orator, his speeches being much less remarkable for their eloquent word-painting than for the excellent matter they contain. He excites confidence by the ample store of information evidently at his command: one feels sure that he knows what he is talking about. His style is simple and unaffected, but terse and vigorous, and generally characterised by a vein of quiet humour. No doubt can be entertained as to his nationality, which his accent at once betrays. In debate he is keen, prompt, and logical, quick at repartee, and, when occasion requires it, able to cover an opponent with confusion by a biting sarcasm. There is no pretence about him either in word or look.

Mr. Mackenzie gave his support in a general way to the short administration formed about the end of May, 1862, by Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald, in conjunction with Mr. Sicotte. This was succeeded in the following year by the Macdonald-Dorion Ministry, to which he accorded a much more hearty adhesion.

In 1864 we find him a zealous advocate for the Confederation of all Her Majesty's North American Colonies. This was an object very dear to his heart. His first speech of historic interest was delivered in connection with confederation, at Quebec, on the 23rd of February in the following year. It was acknowledged to be one of the ablest in the whole debate, presenting, as it did, a clear and comprehensive argument in favour of consolidating British power on the American continent. "It is quite clear," he said, "that we must have a settlement of our difficulties in some way, and I think the scheme proposed is a very favourable settlement of them. I think it is more than perhaps some of us expected at the time when the present Government was formed to bring about a settlement, and I do think that it would be the greatest act of madness that Western members of this House could perpetrate to vote against it. I am not, however, afraid that it will be voted against by them. I believe that under it we have obtained representation by population—that we have obtained what we have long contended was justly due to us, that we have obtained our legitimate influence in framing the financial policy of the country, and that beyond this we have obtained the prospect of building up a great British Union on this continent. We should therefore, I think, in view of these great advantages, overlook those objections which may be regarded as antecedent to the scheme, and endeavour to carry out the work successfully." The British North America Act was passed in 1865.

A seat in the Coalition Cabinet became vacant in the autumn of the year just named, and it was offered to the rising statesman. He refused, however, to accept it, on the ground that the

commercial policy of the Government towards the United States did not seem to him to be favourable to Canada.

The summer of 1867, when the first general election under Confederation was held, witnessed a change in the political horizon. A truce, which had existed for three years between the Conservatives and Reformers, was declared by Mr. Mackenzie and his friends to be at an end. They held "that the special object for which they had laid aside their party differences had been accomplished by the passage through Parliament of the 'British North America Act,' and that henceforth party lines should again be drawn." To this it was answered, "That the new state of things would create new issues, upon which new parties might legitimately be formed." The Coalition party then raised the cries of "Union" and "Patriotism," though the first certainly was not in danger, and the second was as much the characteristic of their opponents as of themselves.

The election ended decidedly in favour of the supporters of the Coalition Administration; and Mr. Brown, the former leader of the Ontario section of the Liberals, lost his seat. It was necessary for some member of Parliament to take up his command, and no one, by general consent, was more fitted to do so than Mr. Mackenzie.

In 1871, Mr. Mackenzie was induced to take part in the Local Legislature of Ontario. He was elected representative of the West Riding of Middlesex. On the meeting of the House in December of that year, he gave vigorous aid in an attack on the Provincial Ministry—Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Ministry—and on the formation of a new Government took office first as Provincial Secretary and afterwards as Treasurer of Ontario. In the latter capacity, especially, he was of signal service, through his minute acquaintance with the resources and financial position of the province. But he did not long engage in local legislation; he resigned both seat and office in October, 1872. The field of Canadian politics in its widest sense was more to his taste.

Every one could see that he was devoting himself heartily to the service of the public; and under his generalship, the Ontario Opposition party steadily increased in strength. This was seen by the Opposition members from the other provinces, and in 1873 they came to the conclusion that it was altogether hopeless to continue acting separately against a united body of Ministerial supporters, and that the best thing to do under the circumstances would be to unite with the Ontario members in choosing a recognised leader. The position was urgently pressed upon Mr. Mackenzie's acceptance.

He thus came to stand at the head of the whole Opposition, and the expectations of his friends were fully realised by the skill with which he managed his somewhat miscellaneous Parliamentary following. Always thoroughly acquainted with the merits of any question before the House, cool in the face of the enemy, ready to take part in debate, eager for the public interest, and willing to impart to others the fruits of his Parliamentary experience, he was felt to be the right man in the right place. The whole system of representative government had evidently been carefully studied by him, and he was excelled by no member of the House in his ability to discuss and solve any knotty point in Parliamentary practice. The adjournment of the session of 1873, on account of the "Pacific Scandal," or wholesale bribery at elections; the prorogation in August of that year; the new session in October; and the debates preceding the resignation of the Ministry then in office, were enough to try the nerves of any leader, and much more so of one placed like Mr. Mackenzie at the head of an Opposition so recently moulded into compact form. He exhibited great discretion, however, and his party daily grew stronger and more manageable.

The downfall of the Government at whose head was Sir John A. Macdonald happened on the 5th of November, 1873, after a long lease of office. Mr. Mackenzie was then sent for by the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, and in a couple of days he was able to intimate to the House that he had succeeded in forming an administration. The debate which followed was unusually long and bitter, the triumph of the late Opposition being nevertheless a certainty from the first to themselves as well as to their foes. It was known, however, that the new Prime Minister was backed by a doubtful majority; and, though new adherents flocked around his standard, it seemed hazardous to depend on such followers. But all doubt on this head was soon at an end. Mr. Mackenzie dissolved Parliament, and at the general election of January, 1874, the supporters of the previous Government were almost everywhere defeated, and the Prime Minister was triumphantly placed at the head of the inconveniently large majority of about three to one.

The general scope of Mr. Mackenzie's political views was expressed at this time in an address to his constituents at Sarnia, previous to his election. His object, he said, was "to bring into harmonious action all sections of the Dominion, to enable every Canadian to be proud to speak of himself as a Canadian, and to promote the cultivation of a broad national spirit, which must be cultivated if we are to become a great people on the American continent." For his part, he added, he "would always endeavour to uphold Canadian rights, and to bring Canada into prominence in the eyes of the world."

The Mackenzie Government at once began a career of legislation in which the thoroughly practical mind of its head was everywhere apparent. One of its first acts was to pass a complete election law for the whole Dominion—a measure of reform with which its predecessors had failed to grapple. By the new statute vote by ballot was introduced, and the property qualification of members was abolished. At the same time, an Act for the Trial of Controverted Elections was substituted for a defective measure which till then had held a place in the Statute-book. Disputed elections were to be tried in future by the judges instead of by the vexatious system of "Election Committees." A new Act was passed for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, this being rendered necessary by the failure of the policy of the previous Government in regard to that great enterprise. A just and friendly attitude was also adopted towards British Columbia, where considerable irritation existed in consequence of delays in the construction of the line. The tariff was revised, and all necessary legislation was effected to carry out the new fiscal arrangements. The state of the militia department received considerable attention, and a Bill was framed having for its object the establishment of a college where young men desirous of entering the service could receive a thorough military education. A Supreme Court of Appeal for the whole Dominion was instituted, and the law regulating the postal service was re-enacted and much improved. A postal treaty was made with the United States whereby a large reduction took place in the rates between the two countries. A statute was passed for the effectual inspection of weights and measures, and the rights of British authors and Canadian publishers were protected by an improved Copyright Act.

Immigration received great attention at Mr. Mackenzie's hands. His administration was not slow to encourage the work of enlarging the Canadian canals. The Intercolonial Railway was vigorously proceeded with, and all the Government lines in operation had their management thoroughly overhauled. This was but the carrying out of a policy which Mr. Mackenzie has long cherished: the only way, he believes, to secure a permanent union between the provinces of British North America is to assist their internal development and intercommunication. The North Western territory had its organisation provided for early in his tenure of office. A

territorial government was established, with institutions and a constitution similar to those of Ontario. This was a really necessary measure; for adventurous immigrants were making their way far into the interior, and settlements were everywhere springing up which required some constituted authority over them.

Such are some of the measures with which Mr. Mackenzie's name as leading promoter will ever be associated. But there are many others to be remembered to his credit, some of them passed long before his return to Parliament, but owing much to his skilful advocacy in the press and before popular audiences; and not a few during his Parliamentary career as a private member. No one contributed more largely than he to the long series of constitutional and administrative reforms won from Toryism from 1850 to 1867, and which came to a triumphal close with the adoption of the present Federal Constitution. "History," says a colonial writer, "will one day record the debt of gratitude due by the people of Canada to Mr. Mackenzie and his compatriots for their many years of persevering, self-denying labour for responsible government, for entire separation of Church and State, for reformed Parliamentary representation, for secularisation of the clergy reserves, non-sectarian national education, university reform, annexation of the Hudson Bay and North-west Territories, free settlement of the wild lands, extension of the canals, encouragement of immigration, reform of the Alien Laws, and numberless other measures for the advancement of national happiness and prosperity."

Before we conclude our sketch of Mr. Mackenzie's political life, it may be interesting to add his opinion on the project for the federation of the British Empire, so far as that project affects Canada. We find it expressed in an address delivered to his constituents on the 11th of October, 1875. "I do not think," he said, "that it is practicable, or that it would result to our advantage or benefit, or that we could gain very much from its adoption, while quite possibly we might lose a good deal. I believe, however, that the people of Canada are willing to assume their full share of the responsibilities imposed upon them as an integral part of the British Empire, and the public spirit manifested by Canada on all occasions when the peace of the Empire was threatened and disturbed in their own neighbourhood was such as to manifest to the most careless observer or prejudiced antagonist of Great Britain that no part of the British Empire was more devoted to imperial interest than Canada at the present moment."

Whilst thus regarding unfavourably the project of federation, Mr. Mackenzie denounces with emphasis the policy of those who imagine that the safety of England would be furthered by the detachment of the colonies from the mother-country. He believes, on the contrary, that if such a detachment should ever take place, it would be the signal for the breaking up of the Empire. The first sign of the decay of the Roman Empire was the withdrawal of the imperial troops from her colonial possessions. Of the relations of Canada with Great Britain and the treaty-making power sought for by the colony, he spoke in the address from which we have just quoted. "We have," remarked Mr. Mackenzie, "long ago passed the bounds of an ordinary colony of Great Britain; we have assumed the proportions of a nation; we have, for the first time in British history, a federation of a large number of important provinces; we have half a continent to govern; and the far-seeing statesman must look many years in the future for that policy which is absolutely essential in maintaining the independence of our own people and the relations with Great Britain, which we all hope, trust, and believe, will never be disturbed in any serious quarrel between the Government of this country and that of Great Britain."

By way of relaxation after a long career of exertion and anxiety, Mr. Mackenzie visited Great Britain in the summer of 1875. It must have been with no unnatural feelings of pride that he thus returned, the politieal chief of one of the most prosperous of British eolonies, to a land which he had left as a working man thirty-three years before. In London he was warmly welcomed, and beeame personally acquainted with some of the leading statesmen of the Empire. He had also the honour of being invited to be the guest of the Queen at Windsor.

From the Metropolis he proceeded to Scotland, to set foot once more upon his native heath. It need hardly be said that his old schoolfellows and other early friends at Logierait gave him a hearty reception. At Dundee and at Perth Mr. Mackenzie received the freedom of the city. The working men of the former place presented him with an address, to which he made a reply full of good sense, hopefulness, and eneouragement. "I think," he said, "working men in Britain, as well as in the colonies, do not do themselves justice when they believe that the highest political positions are shut out from them by reason of social distinctions. For my own part, I never allude to the fact that I am or have been a working man as a reason why I should be rejected or why I should be accepted. I base my entire claim for public confidence upon the expressions of opinion which I believe command public confidence, and upon the result of those principles of which I have been a humble advocate for many years. I do not, of course, presume for a moment to speak here upon politieal subjects. So far as British politics are eoncerned, I am an alien amongst you. I desire to say nothing which will militate against one political party in this community or in this country. It would be unpardonable of me to do so, receiving, as I have done, kindness which I shall never forget from gentlemen representing all shades of political opinion in this country. But at the same time I may be permitted to say that I have always held those political opinions which point to the universal brotherhood of man, no matter in what rank of life he may have taken his origin. I have believed, and I now believe, in the extinction of all class legislation, and of all legislation which tends to promote any body of men, or any class of men, from the mere fact of their belonging to a class of a higher position politically than any other class in the community. But in our great colonies we take the ground simply and completely that every man stands equal in the eye of the law, and every man has the same opportunity, by the exercise of the talent with which God has blessed him, to rise in the world and in the confidenee of his fellow-citizens—the one quite as much as the other. Now, I am quite sure when I address so enlightened a body of men as the working men of Dundee . . . . I can address them believing that I shall find a full response in their hearts to the opinions I utter when I press upon them the necessity—the absolute necessity as a first measure, as the very foundation of success in life—that they shall assume an ereet and proud position, that they shall respect their own manhood, and they shall soon eompel all other people to respect them."

After a short visit to the north of Ireland, where he resided at the seat of Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of Canada, Mr. Maekenzie returned to Scotland. He visited Greenock, where he received an address from the Chamber of Commerce; "a pathetic appeal from the loeal sugar-refiners, whose market is being spoiled in Canada by the trickery of the Yankees, as it is at home by the dishonesty of the French; and an assurance from gentlemen most influentially connected with Newfoundland that they were willing to behave better towards the Canadian Confederation than they had done in the past." From Greenock he proceeded to the Land of Burns. Irvine now seized the opportunity of showing what respect she could: it was resolved to present him with the freedom of the burgh. The inhabitants turned out

in great numbers, and the incorporated trades, the volunteers, and other bodies, marched in procession to the Town Hall, where Mr. Mackenzie received the burgess ticket. He bore his honours meekly, we are informed, and "seemed to wish from the bottom of his heart that the local eloquence had been a little less profuse in allusions to his premiership." Indeed, amidst all this lionising in his native country, his modesty was conspicuous, and nothing could have been in better taste than the unadorned common sense of his speeches. In the evening of the day on which he was admitted a burgess of Irvine, he was present at a *soirée* in the Baptist Church, where he met with several who remembered well his uniting himself, when a working lad, to the congregation of Dr. Leechman.

On his return to Canada he was received with an enthusiasm that proved plainly enough the high esteem in which he was held. When he reached Ottawa, the seat of Government, the corporation and inhabitants—all for the moment sinking their political differences—thronged to welcome him: their heartiness might even have excited the envy of Irvine and the parish of Logierait. The streets of the capital were gaily ornamented with trees and bunting, addresses were presented at the railway station, and the newly-arrived traveller was escorted in procession, bands of music leading the way, to his private residence.

Here we shall take leave of the public career of one whose whole life is full of interest, instruction, and encouragement. If we may be permitted without offence to look behind the curtain which hides Mr. Mackenzie's private life from the world, we shall find that he is of a most genial disposition, unostentatious, and unassuming. That he is a member of the Baptist Church we have told already, and from what we said the reader will have perceived that he maintains his religious convictions without bigotry and without uncharitableness.

Mr. Mackenzie has been twice married. His first wife was Miss Helen Neil, of Irvine, who died in 1852. His present wife was Miss Jane Sym, a native of Perthshire, to whom he was married in 1853.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied from a Photograph by Messrs. Notman & Fraser, Toronto.*]

The Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P.

NEWSPAPERS of varied political tendencies agree in attributing certain characteristics to Mr. Gathorne Hardy which would go far in counterbalancing the few blemishes which the spirit of partisanship too frequently discovers and proclaims in those who are opposed to it. An expression of goodwill and respect from a reluctant enemy is far more valuable than the ever-ready tribute of a friendly admirer. The principal of these characteristics is a genuine sincerity in political opinion, which does not deceive his opponents, and which never fails to meet the requirements of his followers. He never startles his antagonists by proposing essentially non-Tory measures, and he is certain to hold on any subject the proper Tory view which imbues the minds of the steady-going Conservative. That portion of the press which directs its bitter shafts against the faults and failings of our public men and statesmen loses much of its pungency when it deals with the kindly yet energetic nature of the senior member for the University of Oxford. During a Parliamentary career that now extends over twenty years, Mr. Gathorne Hardy has made many friends, but few enemies. As the *Daily News* remarks, "his most strenuous invective never passes the limits of perfect self-possession," though his various speeches show that he is by no means inclined to remain silent under attack, and that he possesses the power of returning the "retort courteous" with a force which is enhanced by his well-known urbanity and self-restraint. To both political parties it seems a relief to have to deal with a Conservative of the *vieille roche*, whom the one attacks as typical, and on whose opinion the other may rely as representative. It will be seen from this biographical sketch that Mr. Hardy is essentially fitted to inspire the confidence of the main body of his party, whilst his social position and early training have particularly fitted him for a just appreciation of the sentiments and requirements of the country squire and the rural parson. If want of brilliancy and deficiency of originality have, with some degree of justice, been urged by his opponents as likely to prove detrimental to his complete success as a statesman, yet the thoroughness of his convictions, and the disinterestedness of his conduct, have invariably secured the due recognition of his merits.

Mr. Gathorne Hardy was born at Bradford, on the 1st October, 1814. He is the third son of the late John Hardy, Esq., of Dunstall Hall, Staffordshire, who for many years represented the town of Bradford in Parliament, and of Isabel, daughter of Richard Gathorne, Esq., of Kirkby Lonsdale. He was educated at Shrewsbury School and Oriel College, Oxford. At the University Mr. Hardy took a second class in classics, and then proceeded to his B.A. degree. It is not necessary to regard University degrees as affording any definite criterion of mental ability or deficiency; but the criticism which was once put forward in a sketch of Mr. Hardy's career is so lacking in knowledge of the usual procedures of University life, that a word must be introduced on the subject. It says:—"Mr. Hardy took a second class in classics, as might be supposed; but did not distinguish himself in mathematics,

as might also be supposed." Now, this kind of hasty deduction might, to the minds of the uninitiated, convey the notion that Mr. Hardy was totally incapable of mastering the higher rules of arithmetic, or the elements of Euclid, and therefore quite incompetent to deal with figures on a large scale, such as would be brought before his notice as head of a department in which calculation and statistics form such an inevitable part of the duties. Any one really acquainted with our Oxford University course must be well aware that the number of men who go in for honours in the two branches of classics and mathematics is extremely limited, and that a determination not to try for a class in both schools does not at all presuppose a deficiency in the subject which is not selected. The falsity of the deduction is here, however, only pointed out, and no endeavour is made to enrol Mr. Hardy amongst the mathematical geniuses of the age. Mr. Hardy was subsequently called to the Bar, where he for some time practised actively, and there acquired that knowledge of form and procedure which has subsequently stood him in good stead. He was, even previous to his first election to Parliament, appointed a county magistrate, and zealously discharged the duties of his office, thus obtaining an acquaintance with "the details of magisterial and county business, which are among the most necessary attainments of a Home Secretary, and which enable him to speak with authority on the non-political questions most interesting to country gentlemen, as well as to be the mouthpiece of their narrowest Toryism in party debate." He was returned as Member of Parliament for the town of Leominster, in 1856, for which borough he continued to sit till the celebrated Oxford election in July, 1865. In 1858 he filled the post of Under-Secretary of the Home Department, under Lord Derby's second administration.

The Oxford election in July, 1865, was an essentially critical point in Mr. Hardy's career. It turned towards him the full blaze of public opinion, and he was by no means spared by the organs of his political opponents. He had again to submit to a crucial comparison, but this time with no less an antagonist than Mr. Gladstone. The *Times*, though paying its tribute to Mr. Hardy's sterling qualities, was very indignant on the rejection of its favourite champion. And Mr. Hardy's success was all the more conspicuous from the fact that the general result of the elections of that year was unequivocally in favour of the Liberal party, whilst it was reserved for their leader to experience discomfiture in a contest towards which the eyes of all men were directed. It cannot be denied that Mr. Gladstone's defeat was brought about by the votes of a body of men who neither represented the highest talent nor the deepest thought of the University, but still, if the majority of electors had arrived at the conclusion that they ought to be represented by a member who would be the faithful exponent of their own wishes and convictions, it is palpably unjust that the odium incurred by ousting Mr. Gladstone should rest on his successful opponent. There was such a striking contrast between the two members who at the time represented the University of Oxford, that it is not strange that a party which knew its numerical strength should wish to be in reality represented by its delegates. On Mr. Hardy's part there was no wish to pit himself against Mr. Gladstone, but a cheerful response to a call made upon him by his social friends and political admirers, as a man possessed of those qualities and advantages which would offer a decided chance of success in the attempt to place the entire representation of the University in their hands. The votes given on either side by men of public fame were eagerly scanned in the newspapers, and many whose political bias was decidedly in favour of the Conservative candidate, gave their suffrages in behalf of his Liberal opponent, who had fascinated a whole nation by his genius, and given strong cause for belief that he would prove himself an uncompromising champion of the Church. On the 12th July, 1865, the *Times* says, in a leading article on the subject: "Candidate after candidate has been

flung at Mr. Gladstone: if Peel succumbed to fate, Gladstone cannot but consider himself always in danger. His opponents, after bringing forward in vain a succession of old 'sober-sides,' have come to the conclusion, 'Nothing venture, nothing have,' and have committed their cause to Mr. Gathorne Hardy. He is a man of high character and great ability; he is not deeply compromised, and he belongs to the age." The leading journal then deprecates Mr. Hardy's candidature, and seems to say that his present success would contribute but little to his permanent renown. "We are not sure that Mr. Hardy is wise in grasping at the great prize of academic ambition, at the risk of a life-long struggle between an inglorious bondage and a questionable freedom of action. Should Mr. Gathorne Hardy be returned, he will only look back with fond regret to the happy days when he represented the confiding and uninquiring electors of Leominster. However, if he chooses to spend the rest of his life in walking the razor-bridge that divides University factions, we shall be the last to dissuade him." And so further in the same vein, implying that in case of Mr. Gladstone's rejection, the loss would be endured by the University, and not by the defeated candidate. The number of proxies which were allowed by the new arrangements was greatly increased, and the diligence of Mr. Hardy's committee in gaining these eventually turned the scale in his favour. The election lasted during several days, and it was not till July 18th that the close of the poll gave Mr. Hardy a majority of 180. After the defeat, the *Times* waxed somewhat more bitter in its tone: "To set against these gains the Conservatives have one important but inglorious success. It is possible that it will be their unenviable achievement to drive from the representation of the University of Oxford a man most fitted to represent a national University. The political and ecclesiastical fanatics of the place have collected the proxies of the country clergy by hundreds, and the consequence is that Mr. Hardy will, in all probability, enjoy through life the notoriety of having superseded the most illustrious representative that an English University has in our time possessed." When the result was published, the *Times* admitted that Mr. Hardy might be favourably compared with any of the antagonists whom Mr. Gladstone had as yet encountered, but it denied him that special possession to which he is indubitably entitled—namely, the unbounded confidence of the Conservative rank and file. Speaking of this section of his supporters, it remarks: "It is not likely that Mr. Gathorne Hardy will forfeit the confidence of this class by any eccentricities of genius, but he is certainly not, like the late Sir Robert Inglis, a man after their own heart." This is essentially what he was, and was the cause of his then success, and of his present enduring popularity.

On the formation of Lord Derby's third administration in July of the following year, Mr. Gathorne Hardy was appointed President of the Poor Law Board. He encountered no opposition to his return for the University on seeking the re-election rendered necessary by his new appointment. But little objection was raised against his promotion, which was felt to be well deserved, whilst there seemed to be every probability that his habits of business would there be advantageously brought into play. Of course, as on the occasion of any fresh appointment of a comparatively untried man, the newspapers served up freely the usual metaphor regarding round men and square holes, but the *Times* went so far as in this instance to augur a possibility of coincidence of shape between the recipient and receptacle: "Mr. Gathorne Hardy is, like Lord Cranborne, a new accession to the Conservative Cabinet, and it seems possible, in his place at the Poor Law Board, a round peg has for once been fitted into a round hole." In May, 1867, on Mr. Walpole's resignation, Mr. Hardy was appointed Secretary of State for the Home Department, a post which he continued to fill until the resignation of the Conservative Ministry, in December, 1868. On the 31st of March of the latter year he delivered a speech in the House on the subject of the Irish Church, which is eminently characteristic of the speaker. It was printed by the

National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, and commanded a large circulation at a time when the Irish Church question was the leading political topic of the day. Both in this speech and during the great debate which ensued on the election of the new Parliament, Mr. Hardy followed the thorough Conservative line of argument, and abandoned none of the defences of the position, such as the Coronation Oath and Act of Union, as was done by many of the brilliant and prominent speakers of his party. This persistency in traditional belief and party instinct naturally drew his attention to any vacillation of thought or conduct on the part of the promoters of the Bill; and he was particularly severe on Mr. Gladstone's inconsistency: "Those gentlemen who appear now to be so averse to what is called personal questions were the loudest in their cheers that greeted the most envenomed shafts which were shot last night at the members of the Government by a person sitting on this side of the House" (Lord Cranborne). "I would ask whether this question of the Irish Church is to be disposed of hastily and without discussion? Is this Church, which has stood for so long a time, and battled for centuries in defence of the truth, to be at once given up without consideration? and are all the arguments of the many great men who have defended her in former days to be ignored or declared of no avail? Am I to be afraid to say that the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was a compact—a treaty of a solemn and binding character? Am I to be forbidden to say that the fifth article of that Union was so important that it was made the fundamental basis of that Union?" Mr. Hardy denied emphatically that the proposed measure would really secure satisfaction in Ireland. He asserted perhaps more strongly than any other member who spoke in opposition to the measure at that time, and also subsequently to the election, that the Church question was merely a pretext for party attack, and that no one could be sincere in his belief that the salve would heal all the wounds of Ireland. He exposed the hopes which were entertained by those who only viewed the present agitation as a means towards an ulterior end, and designated the schemes that were covertly fostered as revolutionary. He maintained that no party in Ireland would be satisfied or won over by the proposed measure, and showed that the Romanists would still be discontented if the glebes or parsonage-houses were allowed to remain in the hands of their Protestant incumbents. He quoted Sir James Graham's views on this subject, and said that he agreed with him most thoroughly: "Church property is property which was set apart by our forefathers for properly maintaining the Christian religion. I tell you it is sacred, and must be applied to that purpose. Those who minister at the altar must also live by the altar. Their claim is as high as Heaven, and as strong as the Almighty, and you cannot overthrow it. It is as lasting as the Eternal, and can never cease to be binding. It is binding on you as Christian legislators and as Christian men, and there is no consideration on earth which should induce me to compromise or violate it."

It was, however, on the 23rd of March of the following year that Mr. Gathorne Hardy delivered a speech, which assumed an additional importance from the fact of his winding up the debate on the part of the Opposition, and from Mr. Gladstone's speech alone intervening between his own and the long-expected division, the result of which was, however, a foregone conclusion. There is something very characteristic in this determined resistance to the bitter end; in the opposition which could not but prove futile, but which was nevertheless expected of Mr. Hardy on such a critical occasion. Long as his speech was, and anxious as many were to render what was inevitable law, yet he was listened to with marked attention and enthusiastic applause on the part of those who so staunchly believed in him, and felt him to be their spokesman in every word he uttered. He claimed the right to oppose to the end, and to the end did his thorough conviction of the

justice of his views enable him to do battle with that peculiar power of oratory which is engendered by conviction alone. Again he pointed out the marked change which had come over the spirit of those who were now urging on the work of spoliation, and said that the Ministerial Leader had now fully redeemed his pledge to sweep away all that he once deemed precious. As the *Times* expressed itself: "It was known that Mr. Hardy was about to speak, and his rising was greeted by the Opposition with that vehement cheering which welcomes a man after their own heart, sharing to the full their feelings and their prejudices, thoroughly believing in the righteousness of their cause, and prepared to fight for it. Even the supporters of the Bill were not indisposed to welcome their straightforward antagonist, especially as they knew that all his sincerity and energy must prove unavailing. Mr. Hardy's speech showed that if University members must always be found fighting a losing battle, they need not be as constantly wanting in fire. Mr. Walpole and Mr. Mowbray had appeared in the early part of the evening as incomparable specimens of that amiable gentleness in which University electors delight." Mr. Hardy's closing words were marked with the indignation which he felt at the inevitable passing of a measure which was so repugnant to his own sense of justice: "I say that the danger which you are incurring is the danger of yielding to sedition. It is misleading the people of Ireland. You are raising hopes which you can never satisfy. The right honourable gentleman opposite said he trusted the time would come when I should recant the opinion I expressed, and see things in a brighter light. As the prophet who said 'If you return again in peace' admitted that in that event no prophetic voice was uttered by him, so I say, that if peace ensues—although I do not think there is any chance of its ensuing in my time—but if peace should ensue, then I shall be wrong in the opinion I have exhibited, and I shall also have wronged those who have been instrumental in promoting them." The division gave the numbers of 368 in support of and 250 in opposition to the Bill.

During the period that elapsed till the Conservative party again came into power in 1874, Mr. Hardy addressed the House frequently. He spoke, as he was in duty bound, against Oxford being made a military centre, and urged the plea that men of all lines of thought concurred as to its being inadvisable to expose the University to an unknown element of danger. He mentioned authorities as discordant the one with the other as Dr. Pusey and Dr. Jowett. With great tact he refrained from making any overt allusion to the cause of the selection of the University city which to many men's minds appeared the real one, and only pointed out the evils and difficulties which he considered as likely to be in store for the academical body, whether professors or students. In the University Test Bill Debate he asserted that the proposed measure was calculated to introduce confusion into the University, and maintained that the endowments, to which the academical body had an indisputable right, were indubitably granted with a view to the furtherance of the Christian religion, and that any perversion of the express intention of the founders would be equivalent to a breach of trust.

On the 9th of July, 1874, Mr. Hardy expressed in the House his views on the Public Worship Regulation Bill at some length. He contended with justice that the measure was essentially not a Government one, and that the opinions of some of the members of the Ministry were necessarily divergent. Mr. Hardy warmly advocated the cause of those whose interests he thought likely to be prejudiced by the Bill, and asserted that Parliament was not the place for the protracted discussion of rubrics. He pointed out that the times had changed since Parliament had a right to determine matters of Church discipline and ritual, as it was "now composed of men of all kinds of religions, and included the representatives of countries who

had no interest in the Church of England." He said that he was deeply attached to the principles of the Reformation, and did not by any means wish to justify Ritualism, or attempt to defend Romanising tendencies; but that at the same time he hoped to see the liberty of the clergy maintained. Mr. Hardy deprecated the employment of coercive regulations as being calculated to drive into the ranks of the extreme Ritualistic party those excellent, moderate, judicious, and valuable members of the Church who had been put in the front by the course which had been adopted in reference to the Bill. Mr. Hardy summed up his views on the question in the following remarks, which decidedly have about them a ring of Church loyalty more pronounced than that which distinguished the utterances of some of his colleagues:—"He spoke, of course, for himself alone, and he had stated how it was impossible for the Government to act on this question, for they had never heard of such a Bill till they saw the statement in the *Times*—which, he presumed, was written by one of those who contemplated such a measure. He would be no party to oppose the efficient exercise of the law as against wilful disobedience of the law, but he did not wish a hurried and vexatious tribunal to be set up in this country."

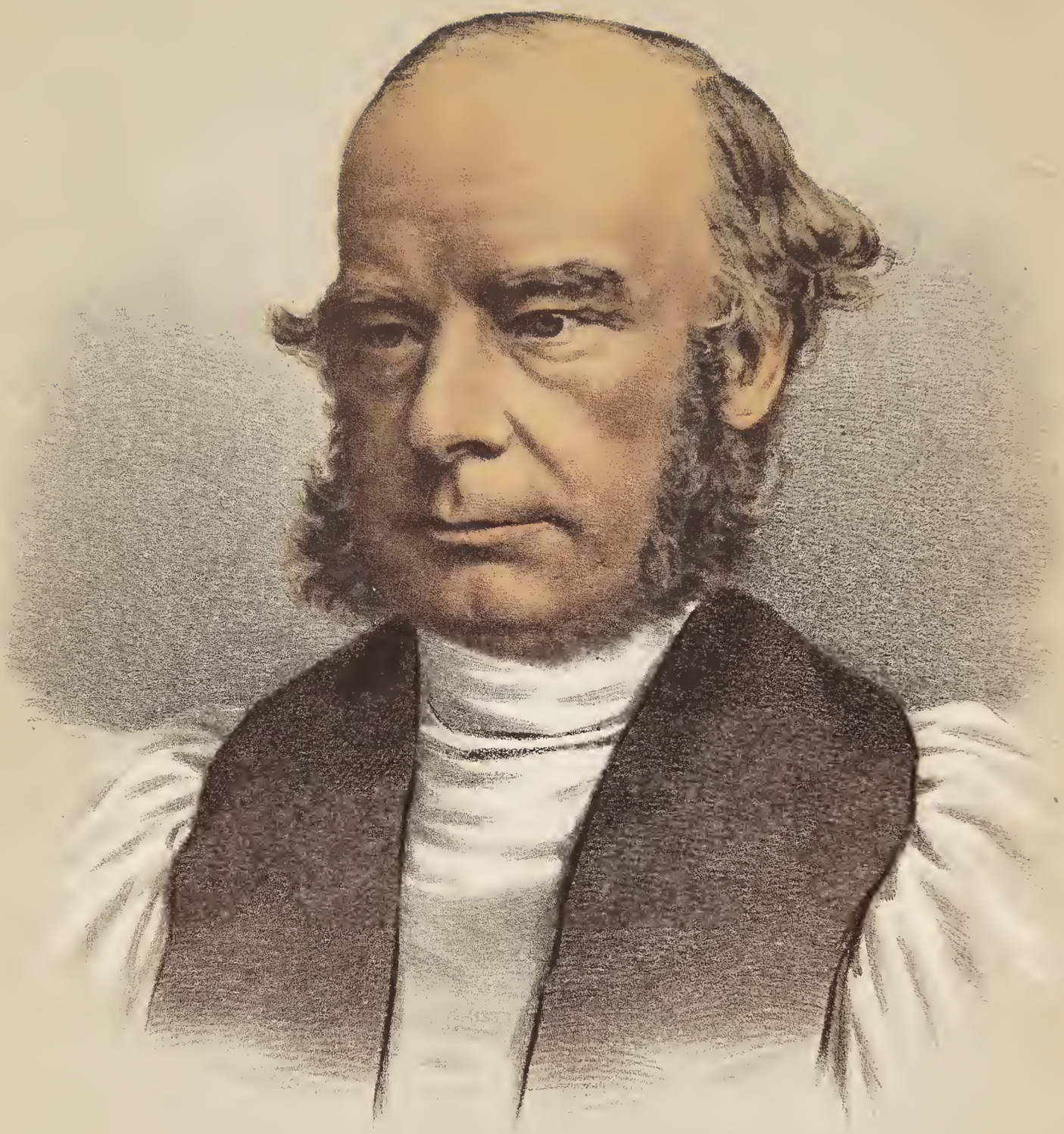
A still more remarkable speech was that delivered by Mr. Hardy on the question of International Law which arose in consequence of the award of the Geneva Council of Arbitration. In this debate the Opposition was virtually successful, for the Government was compelled to declare that it disavowed the recitals of the arbitrators, although willing to meet the consequences of their verdict in the present instance. Mr. Hardy was extremely anxious that a question like this, which was so intimately connected with the deepest interests of England as the leading maritime power, should not be treated as one of merely party feeling. It must, unfortunately, strike any observant reflector of the present day that scarcely any question can arise in our Parliament which, however vital its interests and broad its scope, does not immediately assume a party phase, and bring minds that dare not or cannot think under the influence of the whip. Arbitration had not, up to the date when Mr. Hardy took office, proved so favourable to the interests of Great Britain that a Minister of either party could view its adoption with absolute confidence. Mr. Hardy asserted that he did not find fault with the conduct of the Government during the war between the Confederate and Federal States of America, but that he wanted to have a clear understanding as to what course Great Britain was bound to for the future, and as to the terms in which her Circular should be dispatched to foreign maritime powers who were interested in the question. He denied *in toto* the principle that the relative amount of damage inflicted by the actions of a vessel which had escaped from a neutral port was chargeable to the nation which had been remiss in supervision. As regards *effective* measures, who was to determine what were effective? A strict and thorough supervision of all our numberless ports and coaling-stations would entail an amount of watchfulness as harassing as that produced by a state of war itself. Mr. Hardy withdrew his motion on the distinct understanding of the disavowal by the Government and the Attorney-General of the recitals of the arbitrators. The debate appeared almost unnecessary, as it was evident that Government could not hold out against the decidedly general expression of a feeling of disinclination to admit the decision of the Geneva Board as binding for the future. The *Times* remarked regarding the debate: "If Mr. Forster had been authorised to say at the outset that the Government were quite aware of the duty of accompanying any declaration of the rules to other nations with a memorandum disavowing the arbitrators' interpretation, and had added that the Government would undertake not to invite other powers to accede to the rules without such a reservation, much time would have been spared."

On the return of the Conservatives to power after the general election at the commencement of the year 1874, there was some divergency of opinion as to what post Mr. Hardy would fill in the new Ministry. It was generally supposed at first that he would return to his old position at the Home Office, where he had made himself decidedly popular, and which seemed most suited for the exercise of his energy and business habits: but the consolidated majority which Mr. Disraeli found at his back enabled that statesman, who is so essentially a judge of merit and character, to introduce new blood into his Cabinet, and Mr. Hardy was appointed to the post of Secretary of State for War, whilst Mr. Cross took over the vacant portfolio at the Home Office. The post of Secretary of State for War is by no means a bed of eider-down in these days when our whole army seems to require re-organisation. No amount of talent on the part of a Secretary for War can successfully struggle against the radical faults of our recruiting system; and should any military disaster overtake the nation within the present decade, it would indeed be hard should the Minister for the time being be held responsible for the faults and blunders of years. As Englishmen we do not believe in ultimate failure in case of Great Britain being engaged in a great European war; but while our whole military system presents such an anomaly as it has done during some years, we must not be surprised if our arms are not crowned with the first flush of success. In bringing forward the estimates for the army, Mr. Hardy informed the House of the means which it was proposed to adopt with a view to correct existing deficiencies. The *Times* considered that it would have been more judicious for Mr. Hardy to have waited, before holding out the bribe of deferred pay to the reluctant recruit, until the operation of other inducements to enlist had been tested. But the Secretary of State for War seemed evidently alive to the urgency of the case, and the report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting fully justified prompt measures being taken, which were calculated to furnish the extra supply of recruits necessitated by the impending operation of the short service system. As long as service in the British Army remains purely voluntary, so long must recruiting be stimulated from time to time by fresh inducements and advantages, in order that the profession of the soldier may not suffer by comparison with the other occupations which present the means of gaining a livelihood. To the reflective mind it is plainly perceptible that the voluntary system must require frequent patching, and that if a contingency should arise, when a large increase of the regular army was requisite for a national emergency, the means at disposal would not suffice to meet the demand. Mr. Hardy called attention to the admitted deficiency of more than one branch of our military organisation, and especially as regarded artillery; and he stated that only 63 batteries, with 378 guns, were, at the time he made his statement, horsed and manned, which is little more than half of what would be required if the mobilisation scheme were to be practically attempted. There is little doubt that Parliament would have sanctioned a still larger increase in the army estimates than that requested by the Secretary of State for War, it being evident to the nation that every effort had been used to reduce the military expenditure to the lowest pitch consistent with efficiency. All discussion on the subject of our military organisation is likely to draw the attention of the nation to this highly important question, and to awaken it from supineness and a complacent feeling of self-sufficiency. It must be remembered that if England is a non-military nation it is an essentially warlike one, and that the universality of its possessions renders it impossible to gauge its responsibilities by any normal standard. Conservatives are, presumably, as well aware as Liberals that the commercial equally with the national interests of Great Britain are furthered by the maintenance of friendly relations with other powers, and Mr. Hardy's proclivities were not more warlike than those of his predecessor

in office, Lord Cardwell; but still, those conversant with army questions felt much satisfaction in knowing that a Minister presided at the War Office who seemed to be alive to the shortcomings of our military system, and to be willing to act heartily and sincerely in unison with the Horse Guards in all attempts to bring about improved efficiency.

Whatever be the fortune of the Conservatives in the future, Mr. Gathorne Hardy will always retain the confidence of the main Tory party, and be the spokesman of those who form its backbone and sinews; and his sincere convictions, and sound, practical application of them, are of such value that their loss could with difficulty be supplied. In days like the present, which witness such startling changes in the actions and votes of whole parties, as well as in the opinions of individual politicians, consistency of conduct and fixity of principle are qualities which claim attention by their very rarity, and impress the student of the history of our times with feelings of esteem and confidence.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]



I am.

Faithfully Yours

H. Pétervary

The Bishop of Peterborough.

IN an age when the members of the Episcopal Bench are sometimes taxed with supineness in the discharge of the duties of their office, or with remissness in the exercise of supervision, it is satisfactory to study the life and summarise the views and actions of a prelate who, in the opinion of even those who are most keenly alive to what they call the deficiencies of the Episcopalian form of Church government, rises far above the aspersions which have too often been cast upon his compeers. Since his elevation to the see which he so worthily and energetically fills, the Right Rev. William Connor Magee, D.D., Bishop of Peterborough, has been distinguished by the lively interest which he invariably displays in all questions which concern the Church's welfare and the cause of religion, and by the frequency with which his name has been brought to the notice of the public in connection with various topics of social importance to the entire community. Nor is this mental zeal and physical activity to be wondered at, for Dr. Magee seemed imperatively called upon by circumstances to play a prominent *rôle;* for, chosen for his sacred office at a critical juncture, when all men's minds were keenly interested in the highly important question of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, the newly-created Bishop was naturally viewed as the champion of that cause which he afterwards pleaded with such energy and eloquence; whilst the reputation which Dr. Magee had acquired as an earnest and impressive preacher, and as an orator of the first rank, could scarcely fail to induce one from whom so much was expected to act up to the standard of the hopes and anticipations of those who knew his peculiar power and talent.

William Connor Magee was born at Cork in the year 1821, his father at the time holding a cure in that city, before being presented to the living of St. Peter's, Drogheda, in 1829. His family name is conspicuous in the annals of the Irish Church, and his grandfather had filled with distinction the metropolitan see of Dublin, previous to Archbishop Whately, after holding the very same appointments which were by a singular coincidence subsequently bestowed upon his grandson, viz., the Deaneries of Cork and the Chapel Royal, Dublin. The Magee family has already been settled in Ireland for more than 200 years, though their adoption of the Protestant form of the Christian religion is of considerably later date. The future Bishop received his earliest education at Kilkenny, from which place he was sent to Trinity College, Dublin, at the age of thirteen. During his career at college he gained several distinctions, among which may be mentioned a scholarship, in 1838, and Archbishop King's Divinity Prize. But perhaps his brightest laurels were those gained in the debates of the revived College Historical Society, in which he gave early proof of that eloquence and vigour of thought which have subsequently shed a lustre round his name. The natural aptitude for public speaking which he displayed was readily acknowledged by those around him, and he was chosen by the Society as its auditor. Though much that is mere empty verbiage may frequently pass muster

as argument or talent amongst an excited and indiscriminating audience of undergraduates, and though youthful aspirants who have achieved success at the Oxford Union are apt to imagine that the world lies at their feet, yet these University debating societies possess indisputable advantages, for they serve as training-schools for the acquirement of that self-possession and logical arrangement of ideas which are so necessary for effective oratory, and this training is especially beneficial in the case of students of a nation so many of whose sons possess innate eloquence and natural power of debate. In 1844 Mr. Magee received deacon's orders at the hands of the Bishop of Chester, and was ordained priest in the following year by the Bishop of Tuam. His first curacy was that of St. Thomas, Dublin, of which his uncle, the Ven. Thomas Magee, Archdeacon of Kilmacduagh, was rector; but he was obliged by ill-health to resign his appointment, and to pass two years in the south of Spain, whence he returned in 1848, and accepted a curacy at St. Saviour's, Bath, the climate of that city having been recommended to him. The supposition once brought forward that "the talented young Irishman chose rather to cross the Channel and try his luck in Saxonland" is not borne out by facts, as it was entirely on the ground of ill-health that Mr. Magee resigned his appointment in Dublin, and with no such design as that which is popularly attributed to the Scotchman when he visits the land of the Southron. Both in the Irish capital and at Bath Mr. Magee gave evident proof of that command of language and power of thought which have since rendered him one of the most successful preachers of the day. In the latter city his talents soon brought him into general notice, and his popularity as a preacher was evidenced by his appointment in 1850 to the joint incumbency of the Octagon Chapel, a fashionable proprietary place of worship, of which he subsequently accepted the sole charge. His somewhat lengthy stay in Bath was marked by hard work and an active interest in many of the social and religious topics of the day, while at the same time he acted as Divinity lecturer at the Proprietary and Grosvenor Colleges in that city. We have two volumes of sermons, published by request at this period of his life, which display a great deal of reflection and merit. But in the same way as talented men who do not possess the exceptional gift of oratory gain greatly by the printed publication of their sermons or speeches, so sometimes do those who are endowed with the rare capability of impressing their hearers and carrying their audience with them by suitable intonation and graceful and appropriate gesture lose by their thoughts and arguments being set up in type.

Mr. Magee at this time delivered a lecture before the Bath Church Defence Society, under the title of "The Voluntary System, and the Established Church," which attracted considerable notice, and is in fact an early exposition of those views which he was destined afterwards to enunciate to an expectant nation, in the face of a crowded Senate-house. His arguments were opposed by Mr. Horace Mann, who brought forward elaborate statistics to prove the superiority of the voluntary system, whilst Mr. Magee denied the correctness of the assumptions drawn from these data, and showed much skill in polemic discussion in the book into which his views and statements afterwards expanded.

During his stay at Bath Mr. Magee also interested himself in the Sunday question, and in February, 1856, he preached a sermon on this subject in the Octagon Chapel, entitled "A Plea for the Poor Man's Sunday," whilst he wrote a pamphlet in fuller exposition of his views, which were totally opposed to any concession in the way of relaxation of strict observance, and to the opening of any places of amusement on Sunday. Alluding to the rejection of the proposed measure by a large majority in the House of Commons, Mr. Magee says:—"Deeply thankful as all who value the Sabbath should be for this decision, it would be a great mistake to regard it as final. The 'Sunday Question' is not yet settled. We are but at the beginning of a long

struggle, in which we shall be called on often to defend the ground we have won." His opinion as to the effect that the opening of places of public amusement such as the British Museum and National Gallery would have on the observance of Sunday is couched in strong terms. "It would amount to nothing less than a complete change in the religious and social habits of an entire people. It is impossible to alter materially the manner of observing the national day of worship without materially influencing the religious character of the nation, or to change the manner of spending the day of national rest, without seriously affecting the comfort of all who live by labour." And, further on: "The change in our laws which the members of the Sunday League would bring about is fraught with mischief; its natural and necessary consequence will be the abolition of our Sabbath, the rapid increase of impiety and infidelity, and the utter demoralisation of our people."

In 1859 Mr. Magee was nominated an Honorary Canon of Wells Cathedral, and received the degree of D.D., *honoris causâ*, from his University. On the resignation of Dr. Goulburn as minister of Quebec Chapel, Portman Square, Canon Magee was appointed to fill the vacant post. In 1860, Dr. Magee was transferred by the board of Trinity College to the precentorship of Clogher, in conjunction with the rectory of Enniskillen, which he accepted at the solicitation of the late Primate of Ireland. His reputation as an eloquent preacher and a profound thinker secured him the Deanery of Cork on the death of Dr. Newman, in 1864, which was bestowed on him by the Earl of Carlisle, the then Lord-Lieutenant; and in 1866 he was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, Dublin, in succession to Dr. Graves; he also held the post of Donellan Lecturer for the years 1865-66, an appointment which corresponds to that of Bampton Lecturer in the University of Oxford. Between the time of his residence at Bath and his appointment to the diocese of Peterborough Dr. Magee's name had been brought prominently into public notice by his sermons, delivered in various localities, and in behalf of very different objects. In Dublin, at Oxford, at Cambridge, in our London Cathedrals, at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and before the Queen at Windsor, he had acquired fame for pulpit oratory in an age when it is so greatly sought after, and so seldom found. But perhaps the sermon which more than all others attracted public notice, and appeared to justify Mr. Disraeli's selection for the see of Peterborough, was that preached in St. Patrick's before the Church Congress, in September, 1868. The very text chosen seemed to arrest attention—"And they beckoned unto their partners which were in the other ship, that they would come and help them." Shortly afterwards, on the death of Dr. Jeune, Dr. Magee was nominated by Mr. Disraeli to the vacant Bishopric of Peterborough. Like many appointments that are found fault with at the time, the selection of Dr. Magee has been amply justified by results. Up to that time he had received all his preferment from Liberal administrations, yet being pre-eminently a non-party man, the choice of the Prime Minister can hardly be said to have aroused surprise or heartburnings. It was well known that the new Bishop would devote his whole powers of argument and of eloquence to the defence of the Church of that country which has the honour of claiming him as her son, and the wisdom of Mr. Disraeli's selection was almost universally acquiesced in. In Ireland especially it met with decided approval, and, regarded merely in the light of a precedent to break through the exclusive and meaningless rule that no Dublin College man should be appointed to an English see, it must be considered as a judicious innovation. It is another singular coincidence, that his grandfather was intended by Mr. Perceval, in 1812, to fill the see of Oxford, but that the fear of popular disapproval prevented that Minister from making the appointment. It is perhaps this absence of party spirit and political bias which has exposed the Bishop of Peterborough

to various attacks. One section of the Church imagined, from the line of argument and the tone of thought which pervaded Dr. Magee's utterances on the Irish Church question, that the new Bishop would in many other matters embrace the views entertained by their party, whilst the sentiments which he had expressed on such subjects as the Sunday question, the Athanasian Creed, and auricular confession, led others to the belief that his views coincided with theirs.

It was on June 15th, 1869, that the Bishop of Peterborough made that remarkable speech in the House of Lords which will always be regarded as a model of impassioned eloquence. The *Times* of the 16th says:—"The Bishops were the heroes of last night's debate;" and though that journal was naturally opposed to Dr. Magee's arguments, yet it readily accorded to him all the praise due to his powerful advocacy. We read:—"Later in the evening the Bishop of Peterborough achieved a genuine but fleeting triumph in a speech of wonderful fluency and dexterity, in which he sought to prove, and succeeded in persuading many willing listeners, that the Irish Establishment was a monument of justice, that to support it was an act of the highest expediency, and that the voice of the people, if it had not declared in favour of its continued maintenance, had not pronounced for its abolition." Whilst maintaining that the effect produced by the Bishop's speech must necessarily be ephemeral, and that his arguments crumble away on analysis, the leading journal speaks as follows in eulogy of the speaker:—"The Bishop of Peterborough descended to his hearers, and, while abundantly ingenious, taxed the intellect and strained the power of abstraction of none of his audience. Yet we willingly acknowledge that Dr. Magee had a perfect success for the hour. Possessing unfailing readiness, with a vocabulary copious yet not inelegant, felicitous in quotation and illustration, most adroit in the presentation of his points, he achieved a triumph analogous to that which marked Dr. Ball's speech on the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons." The renown accorded to the Bishop might with equal justice have been bestowed on the Irish members of the two Houses during the whole debate, for the speeches of Lord Cairns and Dr. Ball were alike masterpieces of reasoning and eloquence. In his line of argument the Bishop abandoned the grounds which had previously been brought forward by some of the opponents of the proposed measure—such as violation of the Coronation Oath and the Act of Union, the injury it would inflict on private property, &c., but joined issue on all three of the pleas alleged in its defence, denying that it was a question of justice, that it was a question of policy, or that it was in accordance with the verdict of the nation. The result of the celebrated debate is now a matter of history, and the Irish Church was doomed by a majority of 33. Perhaps the most striking part of the Bishop's speech was its peroration, in which he exhorted the peers not to be frightened into voting against their convictions. The following passage illustrates what is decidedly a characteristic trait in Dr. Magee—a thorough appreciation of the conduct which beseems the tenure of any high office, and of the duties and responsibilities entailed by it, and a vigorous support of his position as a bishop and a spiritual peer without any arrogation of the privileges of priestcraft or unduly exercised prelatic authority. In words which offer a striking example of his command of antithesis and satire, he thus urges the lords to act in a manner worthy of their order:—"Your lordships would then be standing in the face of the roused and angry democracy of the country, with which you have been so loudly menaced out of doors, and so gently and tenderly warned within these doors. You would then be standing in the face of this fierce and angry democracy with these words on your lips: 'Spare us, we entreat and beseech you! Spare us to live a little longer as an order, is all that we ask, so that we may play at being statesmen, that we may sit upon red benches, in a gilded house, and affect and pretend to guide

the destinies of the nation, and play at legislation. Spare us for this reason, that we are utterly contemptible, and that we are entirely contented with our ignoble position. Spare us for this reason, that we never failed in any case of danger to spare ourselves! Spare us, because we have lost the power to hurt any one! Spare us, because we have now become mere subservient tools in the hands of the Minister of the day—the mere armorial bearings on the seal that he may take in his hands to stamp any deed, however foolish, and however mischievous!'"

Since his elevation to the episcopal bench Dr. Magee has turned his attention to many social questions, and exerted his eloquence on frequent occasions in the Upper House. His speech on the 27th January, 1870, at the conference of the National Education Union, held at Leicester, is a model of deep thought and logical reasoning, and is singularly free from political and professional bias. As he himself says, "Sensible men are agreed not to make education a question of mere party politics." The Bishop's view on the subject is very decided, but at the same time very liberal. Whilst he contends that education cannot be entirely secular without being atheistic, he would in all instances admit a conscience clause, and at the same time that he asserts the liberty of the teacher to offer, he reserves for the pupil the liberty to refuse, religious teaching. "And just because I accept and do desire to see maintained these two great principles; because I am an advocate as earnest, and, I hope, as conscientious, as any member of the League, for civil and religious liberty, do I protest against this scheme as a flagrant violation of both. I protest against the passing of a law that would compel the prohibition of all religious teaching in the schools for primary education in this country. I do so in the interest of the Christian faith that is common to us all, and in the interest of morality, which can only be preserved by the teaching of religion—interests of far higher importance than the privileges of an order, or the welfare or existence of Establishments; in the name of these I do most solemnly protest against a measure of legislation which would forbid religion and endanger morality, which would be at once intensely sectarian and intensely irreligious, and which I believe would, at no distant date, utterly demoralise this Christian nation." The Bishop maintained that religious teaching was still desired by the majority of English parents, and was not regarded by them in the light of the League member who declared that "religion was the sauce and trimmings of education, which any one may add to it if he pleases." His logical reasoning is especially powerful as regards the definition of the word "un-sectarian," which is so frequently employed, and so imperfectly understood. He brings out in striking relief the inconsistencies which mark the utterances of Messrs. Bright, Fawcett, and Miall on this head, and urges the incontrovertible plea that if it be thought unfair for one man to have to contribute to the teaching of another man's religion, is it not equally unfair for one man to have to do so to that of another man's irreligion? With his customary antithetical power, Dr. Magee remarks that, "for the State to exclude religion is not an attitude of religious non-sectarianism, but of sectarian irreligion." The Bishop, moreover, instances his own experience of the working of the denominational system in Ireland, where it had then been already in operation for twenty-five years, and where he had, as a Protestant rector, worked in harmony side by side with a Romanist priest, with a conscience clause binding on each of them, but with full liberty in other respects to teach and preach each his own creed and dogma.

On the 19th of May, 1870, Dr. Magee delivered a very able speech in the House on the subject of the legalisation of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. He was strongly opposed to the passing of the proposed measure, and his feelings are expressed in words that show how

deeply he had reflected on the matter. His line of argument was that if the matrimonial connection in question were legalised, all the prohibitions of marriage with the various degrees of affinity must be done away with. "They twain shall be one flesh," and so the wife's relations become in reality the husband's relations; and the *Times* remarked in a leading article of the following day that the Bishop of Peterborough had in fact by this assertion gone to the root of the matter.

It was early in the following year, 1871, that Dr. Magee was asked by the Dean of Norwich to preach an opening series of sermons in the Cathedral of the capital of East Anglia in Defence and Confirmation of the Faith. The Bishop delivered three discourses on three successive evenings, at the close of the month of March; and these addresses acquired additional celebrity and increased circulation from the fact of a notorious Freethinker having been selected by the exponents of the views entertained by those who support the fallacious reasoning which Dr. Magee combated to enter the lists against the champion of the Church. The two sets of discourses were afterwards published conjointly, and at the expense and responsibility of the Freethought party, and were read with great avidity by the public at large, and translated into several European languages. The two spokesmen differed so entirely in the premisses of their arguments, were so utterly dissimilar in previous training and associations, and in the standpoint from which each viewed the subject of which he treated, that the impression conveyed and the effect produced by the perusal of the pamphlets must depend on the bias and susceptibility of the individual mind. The Bishop's opponent complained somewhat bitterly of the disadvantages to which he was subjected—of the accessories which shed a lustre round the service in the stately minster, whilst he himself was with difficulty enabled to secure an adequate building for his audience; but at the same time he bore testimony to the merits of his opponent by speaking of the Bishop of Peterborough as one "whose fame as an eloquent orator and erudite and polished disputant has long since been widely spread." The subjects of Dr. Magee's three sermons were, "Christianity and Freethought," "Christianity and Scepticism," and "Christianity and Faith;" and for minds that can calmly and impartially weigh the arguments and evidence brought forward by the Bishop and his opponent, the perusal of the six discourses in question cannot fail to prove beneficial and instructive.

On the 19th of February, 1872, the Bishop opposed the Ecclesiastical Procedure Bill, but supported the Ecclesiastical Court and Registries Bill; both measures being finally rejected. Support of the authority of the bishops, and advocacy of the rights and privileges of the clergy, are clearly perceptible in the general tenor of the Bishop's remarks.

On the 18th of October, 1872, Dr. Magee delivered his primary charge to the clergy of his diocese. It was seventeen years since the collective body had heard their head expound his views and wishes; and the Bishop dealt most exhaustively with the various topics which were calculated to arouse the interest of the clergy, and to determine the course of action to be pursued by his audience. With regard to the residence of the clergy, he expressed his opinion that the incumbent who took the greater part of the income arising from his benefice and entirely absented himself from the performance of his duties was virtually committing a breach of trust, and that the employment of a curate did not in any way condone the offence. He advocated daily services in churches, and went on to remark that the Church required every curate "(not being otherwise reasonably hindered) to say morning and evening prayer, calling his people to worship with him. No other meaning can honestly be given to this rubric than that it contemplates daily prayers as the rule, and the 'reasonable hindrance' as the exception.

Certainly it does not contemplate the house of prayer remaining closed from Sunday to Sunday." His lordship expressed his desire to see the festivals of the Church more frequently observed among us, and especially Ascension Day, which, he pointed out, was not observed in 155 churches in his diocese. Missionary work, both at home and abroad, was strongly advocated, but at the same time Dr. Magee impressed upon his audience that the greatest care should be taken in the carrying out of the work, and that the heretical doctrine of "instantaneous conversion" should be especially avoided. The question of the education of the young occupied a fair portion of the Bishop's charge; and in drawing attention to the danger of the School Board system gradually drifting into Secularism, he said, "As regards our own Church schools, it must be remembered that religious teaching is now merely tolerated by the State. It forms no essential part of the school programme, nor of the examination of the Government inspector. . . . . Naturally, therefore, the teacher is tempted to regard religious instruction as something that interferes with his real work." The employment of lay agents, such as district visitors, Bible women, and sisterhoods, was strenuously advocated; "no parish," Dr. Magee maintained, "should be without some of these." Regretting the deficiency of lay help, he remarked that the reason appeared to be neither the unwillingness of the laity, nor the jealousy of the clergy, "but in the want of a clearer appreciation on both sides of the true functions of the laity in the Church of England." On the subject of Church reform Dr. Magee dwelt at considerable length, admonishing his hearers against joining any movement for abolishing or reforming any existing institution in the Church before they fully grasped its full idea and aim. The matter of the Athanasian Creed naturally held a very prominent position in the charge, and in a most eloquent discourse Dr. Magee expounded his views, and his reasons for holding those views, with great clearness. He deprecated its optional use by the Church, and also its enactment by the State without the consent of the Church; and whilst fearlessly expressing his opinion that some portions of the Creed should certainly be re-considered, he counselled mature deliberation before an attempt was made to alter it in any way.

The Bill concerning the laws relative to Patronage, Simony, and Exchange of Benefices, has been consistently promoted by the Bishop of Peterborough. Little doubt can be entertained that the objects he so ably advocates will ultimately become law, though various causes have hitherto militated against the passing of the Bill. The remedies with which he proposes to improve the present system are masterly and comprehensive, the principal being as follows:—An extension of the bishop's powers, and exemption from costs in cases where a just cause for episcopal interference has been established: that parishioners should be allowed the privilege of objecting to the nominee of the patron, but on personal and not on theological grounds: that the nominee should be in priest's orders, and have been ordained to that office for at least three years: that the laws of Simony should be regulated, and the power to confer donatives abolished. With these necessary improvements, Dr. Magee is in favour of the continuance of patronage in private hands; mainly, perhaps, because the alternative propositions present so many grounds for dissatisfaction. The popular election of ministers by a particular congregation must always be marked by a spirit of clique and partisanship, and must act very prejudicially as regards the opposing minority in a parish; while a diocesan Board of nomination would inevitably be tinged with the theological colouring prevalent amongst the majority: at the same time that selection by seniority would tend to increase a great difficulty experienced by the Bishops—viz., that of preventing the appointment of persons totally unfitted, from physical and mental weakness, to satisfactorily discharge the duties of the office to which they may be

nominated. Mr. Eubule-Evans drew from Dr. Magee a fuller expression of his views as to the system of patronage. Space forbids further extracts on the subject, but his lordship's reply appeared in the *Standard* of the 31st of January, 1876, to which the reader is recommended to refer.

Dr. Magee delivered an effective speech on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, on May 11th, 1874, in which he uttered the following highly characteristic phrases:—"We are told that we should govern the Church by fatherliness. Now, I must be allowed to say, that there is something very one-sided in this cry for fatherliness from the Bishops, when they meet with no filialness; and I should like to have some reciprocity. When a monition is to be flung back in my face, and I am to be told that I am neither a gentleman nor a divine, and that my conversion to Christianity is to be prayed for, I must say that I should like to see a little filialness on the part of those who are demanding this fatherliness. I honestly desire, as far as I can, to be fatherly towards these men, but when I hear the advice given to us, I am reminded of the solitary instance in which a ruler attempted to govern in this fatherly fashion, and that his name was Eli, while his sons were Hophni and Phinchas." There can be no more appropriate conclusion to this memoir than a quotation which presents a striking instance of Dr. Magee's most felicitous style, and warrants the parallel which was once drawn between William Plunket and the Bishop of Peterborough, as being both skilful in introducing into oratory figures of speech that are made to discharge the twofold functions of argument and illustration.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

Richd Christian Howes.

The Right Hon. R. A. Cross, M.P.

WHEN the Conservative Government succeeded to power after the general election at the beginning of the year 1874, it was an accepted conclusion that Mr. Disraeli would reward with office certain members of his party to whose long-sustained efforts he was greatly indebted for his re-accession to the Premiership, and that new blood would be infused into the organism of its controlling body. Mr. Disraeli's power of discrimination of talent and official capacity has been on all sides admitted as one of the most characteristic traits of his genius, and the various appointments made by him—appointments some of which at the outset have been considered as erratic or arbitrary—have proved the correctness of his powers of discernment. The selection of Mr. Cross as the Secretary of State for the Home Department did not, therefore, take by surprise those who were acquainted with the services which he had rendered to his party, nor those who were cognisant of his precise business habits and his thorough administrative ability. But if Mr. Disraeli be a judge of character and talent, Mr. Cross is an equally good judge of time and opportunity. It is easy to perceive that Mr. Cross was fully aware of the opening presented to him in 1868, and in the election of that year he indubitably played a winning card. "*Finis coronat opus;*" and the ready acknowledgment of Mr. Cross's claims by the members of his own party, and the almost unanimous recognition of his sterling worth and persistence of purpose by his political opponents, as well as the opinion expressed on his appointment by the press at large, tend to show that the member for South-west Lancashire was fully competent to fulfil with satisfaction and credit the duties of the high position to which he was summoned.

Richard Assheton Cross was born at Red Scar, near Preston, in 1823, and is the third son of the late William Cross, Esq., D.C.L., by Ellen, daughter of the late Edward Chaffers, Esq. He was educated at Rugby, and subsequently went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1846. A pupil of Arnold and Whewell, surely superlative excellence might fairly be expected to ensue from such a combination. And those who know how great an influence for good or for evil, for renown or disrenown, the head-master of a leading public school or the principal of a University college generally exercises on the minds and lives of the *alumni* who come in contact with him, cannot fail to think that Mr. Cross's early life impressions were undoubtedly biased by the preceptors of his boyhood and early manhood. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in the year 1849, and was in the year 1876 elected a Bencher of that body, in place of the late Right Honourable T. E. Headlam. During the time that Mr. Cross practised actively at the Bar the Northern Circuit was his field of action. In 1852 he married Georgiana, daughter of the late Thomas Lyon, Esq., of Appleton Hall, Cheshire. Mr. Cross first sat in Parliament in the year 1857, in which year he was elected member for the borough of Preston, which he continued to represent till March, 1862.

During the time that Mr. Cross sat for the Lancashire borough, he brought forward two Acts, the objects of which were to improve the course of procedure in municipal elections, and to amend certain defects which militated against the efficient working of the measures intended to secure their fairness and purity. The masterly manner in which the member for Preston conducted the Bills in question directed the attention of the House to his great capabilities as a man of business, and brought into favourable notice his power of comprehensively grasping his subject. The principal aims of Mr. Cross's measures were to decrease the tendency to corruption, which arose from the restrictive penalties being too severe, and the mode of recovery of the expenses of prosecution too expensive. The former were rendered less excessive, whilst the machinery for setting the latter in motion was made more summary in its character. A great decrease of expenditure was effected in the conduct of municipal elections, a more equal distribution of wards recommended, and the raising of frivolous objections against certified returns was checked by the infliction of costs.

In 1862 Mr. Cross ceased to represent Preston in Parliament, and did not again sit in the House till 1868. During this interval he directed more active attention to the duties of the bank with which he is connected in the town of Warrington, and performed the various functions required of him as a prominent man in the adjoining counties of Lancashire and Cheshire—of both of which he was a justice of the peace, as well as deputy-lieutenant and chairman of the Quarter Sessions of the former. It was during this break in his Parliamentary life that he laid the foundation of that county influence and popularity which stood him in such good stead when, later on, he offered himself for election. Although he did not take a very active part in county politics, yet he became chairman of one or two Conservative associations; while, by the avoidance of all violence in political expressions, he did not alienate those who differed from himself on various topics. Mr. Cross's social and political status at that time has been described as follows:—"He was, indeed, a consistent and energetic champion of the Church, but he declined to identify himself in any conspicuous degree with the Orange Protestantism of the Palatinate. He carefully refrained from any diatribes against the Liberal party. Mr. Cross, in a word, won golden opinions from all kinds of people. Eminently respectable, an admirable man of business, on good terms with the aristocracy as well as the plutocracy of Cottonopolis and its neighbourhood, scrupulously abstaining from doing anything which could convey even the appearance of offence, Mr. Cross soon grew to be not only a personage, but a power."

It was owing to this persistent and judicious line of conduct, and to his general popularity, that when a general election impended at the close of 1868, after the passing of the Reform Bill, Mr. Cross's name was mentioned as that of a candidate who would be likely to oust Mr. Gladstone from his seat for South-west Lancashire, and effect a great *coup* for the Conservative party. Naturally, the great object was to find a candidate who combined all the qualifications most likely to attain success. Considerable local influence was as great a desideratum as the fact of owning no strongly-marked past career. Tone-blending—as, for example, olive-green and French grey—cannot be mentioned as one of Mr. Cross's traits; and his views on religious matters and on politics are tinctured with a somewhat stern but not bigoted Conservatism on the one hand, and with a slightly restrictive arbitrariness on the other. It seems a curious coincidence that two members of the Conservative Government which came into power at the commencement of 1874 should have gained their first footing on the ladder of political fame by a successful contest with Mr. Gladstone for the representation of a

Parliamentary constitueney. Mr. Cross, as well as Mr. Gathorne Hardy, was, after sueh a eontest, expeeted to justify his vietory, and to show that he possessed qualifieations whieh entitled him to party support. It may be a mere chimerieal statement to assert that in ease of the gain of the eleetion against the Liberal leader in 1868 there was a taeit understanding that politieal advaneement, followed by offiee, and strawberry-leaves looming in the dim future, should reward the long-prepared effort; but still it seems evident that Mr. Cross knew that his grand ehanee had eome; and he went in and won; though the seat was seeured by a majority of only 260 votes. No task is harder than to trace the intrieaeies and evolutions of politieal bias in various parts of the eountry—to understand why the most unexpeeted distriets should be imbued with Liberal notions, while Conservatism holds its own in strongholds whose natural proelivities would presuppose its entire suppression.

During the sessions of Parliament whieh intervened between the time when Mr. Cross again resumed his plaee on the Conservative benches and the general eleetion at the eommencement of 1874, the member for South-west Laneashire took no very aetive part in the debates of the House. The great and unexpeeted ehange in the position of politieal parties took plaee at the general eleetion of 1874, and the appointment of Mr. Cross as Secretary of State for the Home Department was one of the results. The appointment was, of eourse, reeeived with surprise by those who did not know that Mr. Cross had been biding his time and awaiting his opportunity.

When the session began, it was natural that the multifarious duties of a Home Seeretary should eompel Mr. Cross to take a prominent part in the eonduet of Parliamentary affairs. The numerous questions whieh are brought before the notiee of that Minister oblige him to address the House more frequently than any other member. On the question of the Game Laws Bill, Mr. Cross objeeted to the measure, as being eonfined to Seotland alone, and as being too sweeping in its purport. The great measure of the session, however, with whieh Mr. Cross was eonneeted was the Intoxieating Liquors Bill. It was felt that some return was due to that seetion of the eommereial interest whieh had been so eminently eondueive to the Conservative sueeess. The measure of the preeeding year had eaused great dissatisfaetion amongst the publieans, and was generally thought to be eapable of amendment. Grievanees had been diseovered to arise from the working of Mr. Bruee's Bill, and it was to do away with these that a change in the enaetment was introdueed. There was a want of stability that attended the investment of property in this shape that eondueed to a sense of inseeurity. The condemnatory endorsements on lieenses seemed to east an unmerited stigma on deserving eitizens. The tenor of Mr. Bruee's Aet had been exeeptional in some points: the purport of the revised measure was mueh broader. An enaetment was introdueed into the amended Bill that publicans might heneeforth eonsider their own *sancta* as their eastles, and reeeive their private friends in privaey. The power of magistrates to deeide the hours of elosing in the eountry was abolished, as well as the exeeptional extensions in the Metropolis. The Bill was eondueted through the House with a eonsiderable amount of embittered feeling, and was eventually earried by a majority of thirty-nine.

On the 8th of July, Mr. Cross made a speeeh on the Law Amendment Act Repeal Bill, in whieh he stated that it was one of the ehief objects of the Government to introduee and earry through the measure, but that the session was too far advaneed for it to be passed that year. He remarked that, "as ehairman of Quarter Sessions in a distriet where labour was carried on to as large an extent as in any other part of the kingdom, the question had

stirred very deeply not only the minds of those employed in labour, but of those who engaged labour, and that the employers and employed were equally anxious that the question should be settled. . . . . He would only add one observation—that, while every one wished to preserve the utmost freedom of action to those who thought it right to act together in order to raise their wages or regulate the terms of their employment, there should be the greatest freedom for those who employed labour to act together also."

There was another class which had to be considered in the settlement of the question—those employers who refused to join any association of masters. And there was another object, quite as important as any, if not more important—that absolute freedom should be given to individual workmen to join associations, or not to join if they did not think it right to do so.

The Endowed School Act Amendment Bill was one of the other measures in which Mr. Cross was engaged during the session of 1874. The chief measure which took up the greater part of the attention of Parliament during the period preceding the recess was the Public Worship Regulation Bill. Mr. Cross's views on Church questions were not entirely in accordance with those which actuated the conduct of some of his colleagues, and were decidedly tinctured with a stern Protestantism that led him to use expressions which were the reverse of conciliatory. He contended that the clergy should be strictly amenable to law, and that the liberty which they possessed was ample. "If the law be wrong," said he, "let it be altered; if it be right, let it be enforced."

At the third reading of the measure, Mr. Cross said "he thought he might congratulate the House and the country that they had now arrived at the last stage of the Bill, and that all these discussions, which had no doubt seriously touched the matters men had most at heart, had been conducted with the greatest possible consideration. He did not at all believe it was the first step towards the disestablishment of the Church, for he could not imagine how such conduct could be brought about by enacting that clergymen should obey the law which they had undertook to obey. He hoped that the Bill, sharp and sudden remedy as it was, would be taken throughout the country in the sense of—as it was—a protest that in the Church of England Parliament was perfectly willing to give all the liberty that was consistent with her rights and liberties; yet beyond that limit it would not allow the Establishment to go, either on the one side or the other. In the passing of the Bill there would be a sign that law was to be upheld, whilst in its rejection the contrary would seem to be asserted."

In 1875 many measures were brought forward by Mr. Cross. Amongst the earliest Bills of the session was the Artisans' Dwellings Improvement Bill. Several memorials had been presented to the House on the subject, amongst which was noticeable one from the Royal College of Physicians, in which it was remarked, "That it is well known to your memorialists that overcrowding, especially in unwholesome and ill-constructed habitations, originates disease, leads to drunkenness and immorality, and is likely to produce discontent among the poorer portion of the population." The Charity Organization Society likewise presented a memorial, stating that, having given a considerable amount of time and attention to an examination of the state of the dwellings of the poor, they were in a position to report, as the result of the investigation, "That the dwellings of the poorer classes in various parts of the Metropolis are in such a condition, from age, defects of construction, and misuse, as to be deeply injurious to the physical and moral welfare of the inhabitants, and to the well-being of the community at large." Memorials couched in such forcible language as this, and emanating from two such powerful and authoritative bodies, could not well be passed over in silence, and it was no doubt in a great

measure due to these and the other memorialists that the laws upon this most important matter met with the prompt attention which they most certainly required. Mr. Cross concluded his speech on this measure by remarking that "under the provisions of this Bill a great deal may be effected. But I should be wrong if I did not once more caution the House not to imagine that we are doing a magnificent and a showy work. It is a measure which will do the work silently but surely. The evil we desire to root out has been the work of generations; and though I believe the ratepayers will be more than fully recouped in the long run, yet, for a time at least, the measure must be worked out at some expense. Nevertheless, considering the state of the people at the present time, considering how little has been done for them, and considering also the absolute necessity of raising up this almost degraded class, who have been brought up in sickness, and who will perpetuate disease if we do not afford them the means of improving their conditions, I ask you on these dens of wretchedness and misery to cast one ray of hope and happiness; I ask you on these haunts of sickness and of death to breathe, at all events, one breath of health and life; and on these courts and alleys, where all is dark with a darkness which not only may be but is felt—a darkness of mind, body, and soul—I ask you to assist in carrying out one of God's best and earliest laws—'Let there be light.'" These stirring words made a great impression on many of his hearers, but much opposition was manifested towards the Bill before it was passed, which event took place on the 30th of April. Several of the great corporations of the kingdom intimated that they were prepared to put the Bill into execution immediately it was passed into law, and they are known to have carried out the new law to its fullest extent at the earliest possible opportunity. The removal of some of the worst and most pestilential rookeries in our big cities has already been one satisfactory result of its working. It is an indisputable fact that with proper sanitary arrangements the death-rate of any nation or of any district can be decreased; and a considerable diminution in the death-rates of our largest towns may fairly be anticipated as the result of the efficient carrying out of the provisions of this Bill.

In the same year Mr. Cross brought forward the "Explosive Substances Bill"—a Bill to amend the law with respect to manufacturing, keeping, selling, carrying, and importing gunpowder, nitro-glycerine, and other explosives. This question, Mr. Cross observed, had been brought before the late Government prior to the Regent's Park explosion, and one of the first acts of the present Government had been to appoint a committee to consider the whole of the circumstances relating to explosives. It was a Consolidating Bill, and repealed all other public Acts relating to explosive substances, and especially gave larger powers to owners of factories and great magazines to eject, if necessary by force, persons doing anything likely to cause danger of fire or explosion. Bearing in mind the fearful catastrophe caused by the explosion of dynamite at Bremenhaven subsequent to the passing of Mr. Cross's Bill, it will not be difficult to understand that legislation in this important subject was very necessary.

On the question of education in rural districts, to which Mr. Fawcett drew the attention of the House on the 2nd of March, by moving—"That in the opinion of this House, it is undesirable that a less amount of school attendance should be secured to children employed in agriculture than to children employed in other branches of industry," Mr. Cross, after pointing out that were children suddenly to be withdrawn from agricultural labour and sent to school, their places would in all probability have to be supplied by women—a consummation devoutly to be avoided—expressed his opinion that the matter was not one with which the Government were prepared to interfere until they had received the Report of a Royal Commission which it was proposed

to appoint for the purpose of inquiring into all subjects connected with education in factories and rural districts. The arguments brought forward by Mr. Cross were clear and powerful, and in the end Mr. Fawcett's resolution was lost by a majority of eighty votes. As a matter of fact, it is notorious that the children of agricultural labourers do not receive one-third of the education which is instilled into their more fortunate factory neighbours, and as a natural consequence it is a rarity to discover one of this class who has contrived to rise above the very low level of his birth. That there is something radically wrong in a system which gives education to one portion of the masses and not to the other is only too evident, and it is to be hoped that the labours of the Royal Commission will in due time yield satisfactory fruits. During the previous month Mr. Cross had been occupied with a somewhat similar subject, a question having been asked (by Mr. William Price) whether his attention had been called to the neglected sanitary and educational conditions of our canal population. It is well known that the moral condition of the persons employed in canal traffic is of the very lowest description, and the scenes which have been described but too graphically by a popular and able pen cannot fail to bring a blush of shame to the face of every Englishman. ' A large number of the men employed on barges are little better than savages, and the vast majority are most unquestionably living in a heathen state, religion of any kind being almost unknown amongst them. A City missionary who made an investigation into their spiritual condition reports that the name of the Almighty is only known to many of them in connection with oaths and blasphemous language—a state of things dreadful to contemplate. If the state of the man is bad, that of the woman is, if possible, worse, for in addition to the evils with which they, in common with the sterner sex, are daily brought into contact, they have also to suffer the additional torture of bodily pain—it being a favourite amusement of their not too gentle spouses to wreak their ill-humour on the persons of their female belongings.

Mr. Cross, in his reply, said that his attention had been directed to the very neglected condition of our floating population, but that, as the children in question were not employed in workshops or in labour which came under the operation of the Factory and Workshops Acts, there would be some difficulty in including them in the inquiry to be made by the Commission which was then about to be issued. And so, because there was "some difficulty," the offspring of the bargeman was likely, at all events for a considerable period, to be deprived of the advantages of that education which is extended to the children of every other description of labourer. There can be no question but that a proper inspection of every barge and other vessel on our canals should be periodically made, and, in the absence of actual legislation, flagrant cases of overcrowding, immorality, and ignorance reported for special investigation. Were the occupants of these floating dens informed that they were at any time liable to have their dwellings overhauled, and that they would render themselves liable to severe reprimand, or even dismissal, by their employers, in the event of their aquatic abodes and their inmates proving to be in a neglected and filthy state, there is but small reason to doubt that the existing condition of affairs would speedily alter for the better.

Mr. Cross spoke in favour of the "Public Worship Facilities Bill" on the 9th of March, maintaining that the member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) deserved the thanks of the House for the way in which he had dealt with the subject. Briefly, the object of this Bill was to establish an order of clergymen who would not have the cure of souls, but who would be simply preachers; and one of the chief points urged against it was that, as the new order would only have the power to administer the rites of the Church in the buildings in which they

were entitled to preach, they would not be able, without breaking the law, to perform the last rites of the Church to members of their congregation on their death-beds, should they happen to be *in extremis*, and that some other clergyman, duly qualified for this sacred office, would have to be called in on such occasions.

On the 6th of April Mr. Cross opposed Captain Bedford Pim's "Training Schools and Ships Bill," on the ground that hitherto part of the work had been done by private benevolence, and that the proposed measure would throw a burden upon the rates—a sound reason for seeing whether its object could not be accomplished by an extension of the system then in operation. In the course of his speech he remarked that the five training-ships then existing (two of which were subsequently destroyed by fire) were doing a vast amount of good, and that there was every reason to believe that they would do a great deal more. They had been established at a cost of £50,000, and contained over 14,000 boys. Captain Pim eventually withdrew his Bill, Mr. Cross having undertaken to forward the interests of the training-schools in every way in his power. The beneficial results of these excellent institutions cannot be too warmly spoken of. Through them many a ragged urchin has been saved from disgrace and prison, and by their aid Her Majesty's navy has received many a promising sailor.

It has already been remarked that Mr. Cross's views on Church matters are decidedly tinctured with a stern Protestantism, and it is more than probable that Mr. Whalley bore this fact in mind when he inquired, in the summer of 1875, whether Mr. Secretary Cross was aware "that great numbers of Jesuits expelled from other countries have lately resorted here, for the avowed purpose of making England the centre of their operations generally, and of subjugating the British Empire to the policy of the Papacy?" Unfortunately, however, for the member for Peterborough, Mr. Cross's stern Protestantism for once appeared to somewhat forsake him, as he suavely replied that he had heard of nothing of the kind, and that if the Jesuits had really that intention, they might, from his own personal knowledge, save themselves a great deal of trouble, for they would be entirely unsuccessful. There was a deal of quiet humour in this reply which indicated that Mr. Cross's sternness was not equal to the religious intolerance of some other members of the House. The "Employers and Workmen Bill"—a Bill to enlarge the powers of county courts in respect of disputes between employers and workmen, and to give other courts a limited civil jurisdiction in respect of such disputes—was introduced by Mr. Cross in June of the same year, and after a considerable amount of discussion it was read a third time, and passed on the 20th of that month. An impression having got abroad that one of the effects of the Bill would be the revival of the punishment of imprisonment for breach of civil contract, Mr. Cross consequently amended the offending clause. Instead of awarding damages resulting in the case of non-performance in imprisonment, he proposed that the court might order that the man should perform his contract, and require sureties that he should do so. If the surety were called upon to pay the money for the person against whom damages had been awarded, he would have the same right to receive the money from the defendant which the master originally had. On this, as on many other occasions, Mr. Cross's county and magisterial experience stood him in very good stead.

Unlike some of his colleagues—the distinguished head of his party especially—Mr. Cross would not appear to have indulged in literary pursuits to any great extent. He published in 1853, whilst practising at the Bar, a volume on "The Acts relating to the Settlement and Removal of the Poor," a very useful work, in which, as its title implies, are set out in chronological order all such sections of the statutes as strictly relate to the settlement and

removal of the poor, with cases that have been decided on their construction, which are referred to at the end of each section. By the term "settlement" is to be understood a permanent, indestructible right to take the benefit of the poor laws in a particular parish or place which maintains its own poor. The only other work with the compilation of which Mr. Cross is known to be connected is a volume entitled "The General and Quarter Sessions of the Peace: their Jurisdiction and Practice in other than Criminal Matters," written in conjunction with Mr. Henry Leeming, barrister-at-law.

The subject of this biographical sketch is himself above compliment; and when it is said that he may be considered one of the most clear-sighted and rising statesmen of the day, the truth of the assertion will be almost universally admitted. "Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them," writes the greatest of English poets. Mr. Cross was not born great, but he has achieved greatness; and if he should have additional greatness thrust upon him hereafter, it will only be the due reward of honest and eminently satisfactory services rendered to his country.

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The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

AMONG the comparatively few colonial statesmen who enjoy a reputation far beyond the limits of the dependency in which their lot is east, the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald occupies perhaps the foremost place. The very statement of this fact implies the possession on his part of qualities which have lifted him out of the narrow sphere of colonial politics, and enabled him to take his place among the statesmen of the empire. Every one familiar with the politics of Canada will willingly acknowledge the fact that he is a Parliamentary athlete of a high rank, and that, if fortune had given him an opportunity of taking part in the political life of England, he would probably have made his mark in an assembly which, besides its other great merits, is certainly the most critical in the world. It is, however, idle to speculate upon what Sir John Macdonald's position might have been if he had lived on this side of the Atlantic instead of the other. It is enough to know that in Canada he has thrice held the highest office which it is in the power of his fellow-citizens to bestow, and that, during more than thirty years of conspicuous public labour, he has been a necessity to every Government formed by the Conservative party. In Canada Liberal and Conservative hardly have the same meaning that is attached to them in England; and although Sir John Macdonald is called the leader of the Tory party in the Dominion, only readers well versed in the intricacies of Canadian politics will be able to understand the precise significance of the phrase.

Sir John A. Macdonald, like his present rival, Mr. Mackenzie, was born in Scotland. He first saw the light on January 11th, 1815, but not long after his father, Mr. Hugh Macdonald —anticipating the great emigration which took place from the same district more than a generation afterwards—removed from Sutherlandshire, and, crossing the Atlantic, settled in the now flourishing city of Kingston, Ontario. Sir John had the advantage of a liberal education in youth; and it is worthy of remark that Dr. Wilson, his master at the Kingston Grammar School, was himself a graduate of Oxford University. Canada at that time was a sparsely-peopled country, and education of such a quality as fortunately was within the reach of the studious lad could not be secured even by every well-to-do aspirant. At the early age of twenty-one he was called to the Upper Canadian Bar, and between this period and the year 1844, when he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly, he was actively engaged in legal pursuits, which in Canada are usually as a profession much more profitable than a political career. He was called upon to untie or to cut many a Gordian knot which would have puzzled older and more experienced heads, especially in connection with those land disputes which in all newly-settled countries find lucrative employment for gentlemen of the long robe. Nor was he, as a young lawyer, without opportunities of distinguishing himself in causes which enabled him to display to advantage that gift of fluency and those faculties of acute and rapid perception and of searching analysis which subsequently he exhibited in a yet nobler arena. He lived in

troublous times, when Canadians were in rebellion against the existing authority, and when also turbulent elements from across the frontier added fuel to the flame. It was his fate to defend and to procure the acquittal of a party of rebels whose capture was effected as they were marching to the assault of Kingston; and he was also retained as counsel for the American raiders, under General Von Schultz, whose entrenchments at Prescott fell so readily before the advance of Lord Melville at the head of the royal troops.

Sir John Macdonald's public life began in the year 1844, when he was returned as member for Kingston, the city which ever since, in spite of numerous contests, he has continued to represent. At that time the political relations of Canada with the mother-country were far from satisfactory. Ministers in Downing Street still to a large extent governed the colony, which was also compelled to maintain out of the public revenues a host of sinecurists, the duties of many of them being performed by deputy. Responsible government, it is true, had been nominally granted; but it was reserved neither for Lord Metcalfe nor for Lord Cathcart, but for Lord Elgin, to give form and stability to the new political edifice. Although Mr. Macdonald had associated himself with the Conservative party of which President (now Chief Justice) Draper was the chief standard-bearer, and although, therefore, he was on various occasions the defender of prerogative as embodied in the supremacy of the Crown, he was no blind adherent to the old order of things. On the contrary, when he considered that the country was ripe for the change, he loyally accepted the principle of responsible government, although soon after its full establishment the Ministry, of which in 1847 he had become a member as Receiver-General, and subsequently as Commissioner of Crown Lands, was driven from power, giving place to the reform administration of Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine. The year 1848 found Mr. Macdonald an active member of the Opposition, and zealously engaged in promoting that union between the Conservatives of Upper Canada and the French party in the Lower province, which was for so many years the sheet-anchor of Toryism in Canada. In bringing about a good understanding between the two parties, he skilfully availed himself of all the points of sympathy which it was possible to discover between a cautious Conservatism and a people so naturally tenacious of their institutions as the Lower Canadians. In 1849 the Rebellion Losses Bill, which secured compensation to the owners of property who had suffered from the rebellion, and it was said did not sufficiently discriminate between loyalists and insurgents, excited the strongest hostility of the Conservative party; and when it received the sanction of Lord Elgin, a mob of violent and lawless men openly insulted the Governor-General, and destroyed the Parliament buildings at Montreal. Mr. Macdonald, who shared the views of those who had recommended that the Bill, instead of being dealt with in Canada, should be referred direct to Her Majesty, deeply deplored the excesses of these misguided men, whose recklessness brought the Conservative party into discredit, and occasioned the removal of the Legislature to Toronto. After no great lapse of time, Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine were defeated, and Mr. (now Sir Francis) Hincks, who appeared in the character of a moderate reformer, succeeded to office. No useful purpose would be served by recounting the deeds of this administration, or the vigorous assaults made upon it by Mr. George Brown, the leader of the advanced Liberal party, as well as by Mr. Macdonald, the virtual head of the Conservative Opposition; but we may remark that the unwillingness of Mr. Hincks's Cabinet to grapple with the question of the Clergy Reserves was the pretext for its overthrow, and that in the debate which preceded the defeat of the Government and the subsequent general election, Mr. Macdonald delivered a speech that placed him in the front rank of Parliamentary debaters. With some foundation his personal appearance

has been compared to that of Mr. Disraeli, and in the stormy debates which distinguished this portion of Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty he not unfrequently displayed a Disraelian power of invective. On one occasion, pointing with his finger to the Ministerial benches, he stirred the party-feelings of the House to their depths by exclaiming—"There may be Walpoles among them, but there are no Pitts: they are all steeped to the lips in corruption; they have no bond of union but the bond of common plunder!"

By this time Mr. Macdonald had obtained a considerable reputation as a Parliamentary tactician; and on the enforced retirement of Mr. Hincks he gave signal proof of his capacity by securing to his party, although it was then in a hopeless minority, the substantial fruits of victory. By his skilful management a coalition was brought about between his leader, Sir Allan McNab, and Mr. Morin, who had been the representative of Lower Canada in Mr. Hincks's administration. Mr. George Brown denounced the coalition, and inveighed more vehemently than ever against French domination; but Mr. Macdonald had the satisfaction of knowing that he had out-generalled his quondam allies, and that in the first heat of the political race he was now about to run he had obtained the honourable position of Attorney-General for Upper Canada. The retirement of Sir Allan McNab, who deserves a word of friendly mention as a representative of old-fashioned Conservatism, made no difference to his actual position, for he continued to exercise the functions of Attorney-General under Colonel (afterwards Sir) E. P. Taché. Henceforth, with only one or two comparatively brief intervals, he was destined not only to form part of the political history of Canada, but to become the leading spirit of its Government.

Mr. Macdonald now enjoyed exceptional opportunities of showing that his legislative as well as administrative abilities had not been exaggerated by either friend or foe. The Clergy Reserves Bill was a measure of the first importance. It is not necessary to re-open the exciting discussions which Mr. Macdonald's mode of dealing with this question excited. Suffice it to say that he commuted all existing interests by a money payment, and that when the clergy were fully compensated there was a balance of nearly a million sterling available for municipal and other public objects in Upper Canada. He was hardly less successful in dealing with the subject of Seigniorial Tenure, a grievance which rivalled the Irish Land Question in complexity, and in the intensity of the party-feeling which it excited. In 1857 Mr. Macdonald became Premier, having for his principal colleague the late Sir George Cartier, the representative of an historic name, and one of the ablest members of the French-Canadian school of statesmen. In the following year he was defeated on the important question of the Seat of Government. This matter had with great wisdom been referred to Her Majesty, whose choice fell upon what was then the obscure town of Ottawa, thereby giving offence to large sections of the people, who upheld the claims of important cities like Montreal and Toronto. The Ministry felt bound to accept the decision of the Sovereign, the result being a vote which occasioned their immediate resignation. Mr. Brown, acting in concert with Mr. Dorion, of Lower Canada, succeeded in forming a Government; but, before his re-election could take place, votes of no confidence in the new Ministry were passed in both Houses; and as Sir Edmund Head, the Governor-General, declined to dissolve Parliament, Mr. Macdonald and his colleagues barely endured the cold shade of opposition for eight and forty hours. This passing episode would probably have sunk into oblivion but for an extraordinary proceeding, which is still generally known throughout Canada as "the double shuffle." The Independence of Parliament Act provided that if any member of a Cabinet elected to serve in the Legislative Assembly or Legislative Council resigned his office, and within one month after his resignation accepted another office in the Government, he

should not thereby vacate his seat. The members of the late administration, on being recalled by the Governor-General, simply effected an exchange of offices (Mr. Macdonald relinquishing the Premiership to Mr. Cartier), and declined to recognise the legal obligation of an appeal to their constituents. Their conduct was fiercely contested in the courts of law, as well as in Parliament, on the ground that the Act was intended to apply only to members of the same administration who might resign one office and accept another within the period of a month; but in the end the judges decided that the Ministers were justified in their interpretation of the law. In 1862 Mr. Macdonald was defeated on his Militia Bill; although not many years elapsed before Canada recognised to the fullest extent the patriotic duty which devolved upon her, of adequately providing for her own defence; and, by a singular coincidence, when the Fenian raid into Canada took place, the same statesman was Minister of Militia, and in that capacity directed the movements of the brave volunteers who, by one gallant effort, rolled back the tide of invasion. For two years Mr. Macdonald remained in Opposition.

Events of great importance were now at hand; but in order to understand them it is desirable to refer to the sectional struggles which had so long raged between Upper and Lower Canada. To govern men of different religions and races is a heavy tax upon the statesmanship of any country, and in Canada circumstances had rendered this task peculiarly difficult. Lower Canada was mainly peopled by French Catholics, the descendants of the original founders of that French empire in North America which once rivalled our own on that continent; while Upper Canada was inhabited by a thrifty and industrious population, largely composed of Scotch Protestants. Upper and Lower Canada enjoyed an equality of representation in the colonial Parliament, although the current of emigration chiefly flowed into the western province. Mr. Macdonald's great object appeared to be to carry on the Queen's Government; and with a skill which has never been surpassed he succeeded for many years in securing the French-Canadian vote, although the majority in Upper Canada rallied under the Reform banner of his indomitable opponent, Mr. George Brown, who contended as earnestly for the principle of representation by population as the English Liberals of a past generation. The Upper Canadians were divided, while the strength of the dominant party in the Lower province consisted in their unity and in the implicit obedience they yielded to the leaders to whom they had given their confidence. The friction that went on between these ever-conflicting forces could not fail to excite anxiety on the part of every patriotic mind. Mr. Brown, we believe, was the first to suggest the idea of a Federal union of the two provinces—a proposal in which we find the root of that magnificent Dominion which now stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The project of a Confederation that should unite all the colonies of British North America was no sooner submitted to the public than it evoked a general expression of sympathy. It appeared to point out a means of combining theoretical justice with what was practically attainable, and of giving Canada a true national impulse without lessening the supremacy or just influence of the Crown. But it was impossible to take the preliminary steps in this great enterprise unless the leaders of both parties could be induced to suspend hostilities, and even to unite together for the purpose of carrying out the new policy. It will ever redound to the credit both of Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown that, agreeing to sink past differences, they both accepted office in the Coalition Government which was formed by Sir E. P. Taché in 1864. In that year a conference, at which Mr. Macdonald attended as a delegate, was held in Prince Edward Island for the purpose of settling the terms of a union with the maritime provinces. Subsequently he was present at a similar meeting which was held at Quebec; and in 1865 he distinguished himself in the debates on the Bill which legalised

the union of the various colonies of British North America. The labours of the statesmen engaged in this arduous enterprise were now more than once transferred to London. Mr. Macdonald presided over the deliberations of the conference which sat in the British metropolis in 1866-67, and took a most active and able part in those final negotiations with the Imperial Government which culminated in the establishment of a new Transatlantic nationality. No colonial mission of equal magnitude had been seen in England during the present century; and the Imperial Government felicitously marked its sense of the importance of the business which brought Mr. Macdonald and his colleagues to Downing Street by giving them place at the Queen's levees and drawing-rooms among the members of the diplomatic circle. They had, however, other duties to occupy them besides those of figuring in Court ceremonials and at public banquets. They not only had to adjust all the complicated and nicely-balanced details of the new constitution for the federated colonies, but they were involved in controversies arising out of the powerful opposition to the scheme which the late Mr. Joseph Howe had organised in Nova Scotia. Mr. Howe came to England for the purpose of endeavouring to induce Parliament and the press to espouse the cause of the Nova Scotian malcontents, and he was successful in enlisting the co-operation of Mr. Bright, who delivered an argumentative and eloquent speech in the House of Commons in favour of the views put forward by the opponents of Confederation. After the passage in 1867 of the British North American Act, honours were distributed with a liberal hand among the Ministers of the four provinces who had taken part in the deliberations of the London conference, and the subject of our sketch was made Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B. When the measure, which was the result of so much labour and anxiety, came into operation, Sir John was raised to the proud position of first Premier of the Dominion of Canada; and for six years he held this office, at the head of a large and well-disciplined majority. One of his first strokes of policy was to disarm the hostility of the Nova Scotians, who demanded the repeal of the union, by wooing Mr. Howe, the leader of the popular party, into the Cabinet; while at the same time the inauguration of the Intercolonial Railway enabled him to consolidate his influence in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

It has been the good fortune of Sir John A. Macdonald to be associated with another of those supreme acts of policy which, when the petty politics of the time are forgotten, cannot fail to occupy a prominent place on the page of history. For two centuries the great North-west territories which, under the designation of Rupert's Land, spread over a tract of the earth's surface equal in extent to the whole of Europe, had been occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose sole business was that of carrying on the fur-trade, and the continuance of whose lucrative monopoly depended upon their ability, under the terms of their charter, to prevent colonisation from penetrating into the wilderness which they had so long shared with Indians and wild animals. Many unsuccessful attacks were made on the Company both in England and in Canada; but in 1868, through the tact and judgment of Lord Granville, who was then Colonial Minister, an arrangement was entered into by which, after the Company had been compensated for the surrender of its exclusive privileges, Canada entered into possession of a vast domain, stretching from the Polar Sea to the United States frontier, and from the western shores of Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains. The settlement of this question was unfortunately followed by a misunderstanding with the half-breeds who inhabited the picturesque and flourishing settlements on the Red River, which are now included in the province of Manitoba. Sir John A. Macdonald had promised that representative institutions should at once be introduced into the Red River country, and that the population should also be represented in the

Dominion Parliament; but the embers of disaffection which had so long slumbered under the rule of the Hudson's Bay monopolists were fanned into a flame by one Louis Riel, a French half-breed, who formed a Red River Republic, of which he constituted himself president. Mr. McDougall, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor by the Dominion Government, was unable to enter the territory; and it was not until Colonel (afterwards Sir) Garnet Wolseley arrived, at the head of a small but well-equipped British force, that the rebellion collapsed. These events involved Sir John A. Macdonald and his colleagues in many warm discussions, but, as the sequel showed, they only temporarily interfered with the organisation of Manitoba as a province of the Confederation. After recovering from a severe and protracted illness, Sir John was called upon in 1871 to take an important part in the settlement of the Alabama disputes. It would not be easy to exaggerate the responsibility in which the Premier of Canada, from no fault of his own, had been involved by Alabama claims and Fenian raids, and more especially by the repeated failure of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations to arrive at a basis of settlement. With characteristic public spirit, he consented to represent the Dominion in the negotiations at Washington as one of Her Majesty's Joint High Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries, his colleagues being Earl de Grey and Ripon (now Marquis of Ripon) President of the Commission, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, and Dr. Montagu Bernard. As is well known, the joint labours of the British and American Commissioners terminated in the Washington Treaty, the provisions of which were as eagerly canvassed in Canada as in the United Kingdom. It is no secret that the Canadian Premier dissented from several clauses of the treaty, which injuriously affected the interests specially entrusted to his charge, but it was impossible for him in a matter of such transcendent moment to do more than record his protest. Many delicate questions have arisen between the American and Canadian peoples, but Sir John A. Macdonald's bitterest enemies will not allege that he has ever been false to the political or commercial interests which it was his duty to protect, or to the crown whose dignity from the outset of his career it has been his pride to uphold.

We have thus briefly reviewed the principal events which have marked the public life of the foremost of Canadian statesmen down to the period of his retirement from office on the occasion of the Pacific Railway controversies in November, 1873. Those controversies are of such comparatively recent date that it is unnecessary to re-open them, but we may remark that whatever attacks Sir John A. Macdonald may have encountered as a public man, no one has ever ventured to cast doubts upon the disinterestedness of his motives or the integrity of his personal character. Upon the fall of his Government he was anxious to retire from the leadership of his party, but his political friends, in every section of the country, refused to entertain the suggestion, and he therefore became leader of the Opposition by acclamation. Much of his popularity, no doubt, is due to his great political capacity, and to the length of his public services, but still more of it may justly be ascribed to the generosity of his character, and to the chivalrous fidelity of his personal and party friendships. Some Parliamentary chiefs are accustomed to stand aloof from too familiar contact with the rank and file of their party. Even if they give their confidence to a select few who are privileged to enter the charmed circle of which they form the central figures, they chill the enthusiasm of a far larger number by their frigidity and reserve. There is no man to whom such a description would be less applicable than to Sir John A. Macdonald. To those who sit on the same benches with him he exhibits a geniality of temper which involuntarily suggests a comparison with Lord Palmerston. And such a comparison holds good in other respects, for the living equally with the dead statesman will long be remembered as a master of Parliamentary fence—as

exhibiting that readiness which is often more useful to the political leader than either argument or rhetoric. As leader of the Opposition, he has been very assiduous in his attendance at the House, and ever watchful for an opportunity of serving the interests of his party, which sometimes takes the form of assisting Ministers, whereby he is able to heap coals of fire upon their heads. As an orator Sir John A. Macdonald occupies a high rank among the notabilities of the Dominion. He speaks with great animation, is often humorous and even witty, is always ready and effective in reply, and occasionally rises to the dignity of eloquence. There have been, and are, greater masters of that art, but there have rarely been more successful public speakers. We have already referred to the first occasion on which he received a special mark of the royal favour. We may now add that in 1865 the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford; that in recognition of his services as a Joint High Commissioner at Washington, he was made a Privy Councillor in 1872; and that in the same year he received the Grand Cross of the Order of Isabel and Catolica for the rigid enforcement of the British neutrality laws against certain agents of the Cuban revolutionary party who had endeavoured to enlist recruits in Canada. Although his name is on the roll of Privy Councillors, he has not yet been sworn in a member of that most honourable body, but this ceremony will doubtless be performed on the occasion of his next visit to the United Kingdom.

Although we have only glanced at a few of the events which have taken place in a very busy public life, we think we have said enough to justify Sir John A. Macdonald's claim to be regarded as one of the first of living colonial statesmen. Since he entered upon politics, Canada has gradually secured the population, the wealth, and the dignity of a nation. In one of his speeches Sir John remarks that "in the early days of Canada, immediately after the revolutionary war, it was said that somewhere near Ogdensburg (New York), justice was administered in a very off-hand way by an old gentleman who fulfilled the duties of a justice of the peace, and who, when any one was brought before him charged with any crime, used to declare with great solemnity, 'Sir, you are banished off from God's earth.' When the criminal asked where he was to be sent he was told, 'Well, I guess you must go to Canada.'" Since the period in which this old judge is supposed to have flourished, emigration has landed on the shores of the Atlantic many millions of representatives of the various nationalities of Europe, of whom Canada has absorbed her due proportion, but as a colonising country she may still be regarded as in her infancy. The settlement of a country of the superficial area of Canada, with territories so capacious and fertile as those that are watered by the Red River and the Saskatchewan, is in itself a political question of the first magnitude. It is impossible to obliterate from the records of British America the services which Sir John A. Macdonald and his friends, as well as men of the opposite party, have rendered to the cause of civilisation by the opening up of the North-West Territory. Moreover, this great work has been accomplished without violence. There has never been an Indian war in Canada, and the footsteps of the settler in the province of Manitoba or on the banks of the Saskatchewan have not been stained with blood. This is owing to the fact that Sir John and his Ministerial colleagues, equally with the Parliament of Canada, have been careful to extinguish the Indian title by treaty, and to make fair compensation to the aboriginal tribes.

The spirit in which Sir John A. Macdonald has always conducted the relations of Canada with the mother-country—the spirit which he has ever endeavoured to infuse into the minds of his Canadian fellow-subjects—is that of ardent loyalty to the British Crown. He has never given the least countenance to those separatist doctrines which at one time appeared to have

found favour with a small class of colonial politicians. On the contrary, he has advocated confederation as a means of perpetuating and consolidating the unity of the British Empire. In a speech as striking for its eloquence as for its patriotism, he anticipated that by the gradual and timely application of the principle of federation, there would one day be formed, under the presidency of England, an immense empire of freemen, "the greatest confederacy of civilised and intelligent men that ever had an existence on the face of the globe." This is far from being a rhetorical flourish, a mere figment of the imagination; for while the loyalty of English colonies all over the globe remains unshaken, or rather while every year it appears to receive a new impulse, that principle of confederation which, with the help of Sir John A. Macdonald, has been embodied in the Dominion of Canada, is now rapidly taking root in other great dependencies of the Crown.

Sir John A. Macdonald has been twice married. His first wife was Isabella, daughter of the late Alexander Clark, Esq., of Dalnavert, Inverness-shire, Scotland; his second, Susan Agnes, daughter of the late Hon. T. T. Bernard, a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council of the Island of Jamaica.

The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied from a Photograph by Messrs. Notman & Fraser, Toronto.

The Rev. Henry Allon.

A GENERATION ago, when a certain liberal Churchman was asked why, upon his broad and comprehensive basis, he did not fraternise with Nonconformists, he is reported to have made answer that he forbore not on any grounds of doctrine, or even discipline, but for the social and æsthetic reason that all Dissenters were vulgar, and dropped their aspirates. Without vouching for the accuracy even of this traditional piece of ignorance, it is quite certain that no one, however slenderly acquainted with his fellow-men, would venture upon so exceedingly silly a generalisation now. There is a good deal of mutual ignoranee about each other prevalent among Churchmen and Dissenters still, just as Frenchmen and Englishmen seem to know less about one another than those who live in different hemispheres; but Churchmen would no more think of saying that Dissenters were all vulgar than that they all had red hair, or that they never exceeded five feet in height. It is one of the foolish prejudices we have happily outgrown: not only has the opening up of the sourees of education removed all possible shadow of excuse for such an assertion as was quoted above, but it has thrown men more together, and rubbed off a good deal of that angularity of charaeter which is perhaps in a measure incidental to dwellers in an island. It has made us more cosmopolitan—better citizens of the world.

Now there is this vast difference between the task which lies before the biographer of a man of mark in the ministry of the Established Church and that which is before one who would chronicle the often short and simple annals of a distinguished Nonconformist minister: that whilst, in the former case, he is almost compelled to linger over the introductory portion of his subject, and trace him whose life he would chronicle through school and college, in the latter instance it seldom happens that such is the case. The opening up of better opportunities for a brilliant career is too recent an aequisition in the case of Nonconformists for it to affect those who furnish material for our biographies. We see them first of all in full harness, as Minerva issued in her armour from the head of Jove. Work, in many cases, commences when an undergraduate would be initiating his mere preparation for definite work. "When a boy of nineteen," said Mr. Spurgeon, "I came up to London as a preacher, and there was not a place in the metropolis that I could not fill." This he said not boastfully, but as accounting for the eccentricity of some of his earlier pulpit utteranees. It would be diffieult to decide summarily whether this early commeneement of ministerial work is an advantage or the reverse; but it is a fact, in any case. Of Dr. Allon we only know that he was born October 13th, 1818, at the little village of Welton, near Hull, and that he displayed from early boyhood an inelination for the ministry. Then we find him in the aeademy of the Rev. Alexander Stewart, of Chipping Barnet; after which he received his ministerial education at Cheshunt College, Hertfordshire; and so ends the chronicle of a childhood and youthtide even less minutely detailed than that of the first of the prophets. But the call to the ministry came, like Samuel's own, with childhood. Shall we be far wrong

in attributing to that circumstance the singular success which has attended this most symmetrical life-history? When we take a comprehensive view of Dr. Allon's life, we are impressed at once with its unity and massiveness. His career has been the very reverse of the rolling stone; and he has fulfilled the adage by gathering moss. The "giant bole" stands stalwart in the forest still, and may it stand there for many years to come, but the vast circumference is draped with picturesque moss and festooned with poetic ivy.

In the year 1844 he left his student-life behind him, and entered on the active work of the ministry at an age only a few years beyond that which is taken to be the minimum for Orders in the Church of England. His first cure was his present one. He was appointed co-pastor of Union Chapel, Compton Terrace, Islington, in conjunction with Mr. Lewis, who had held the post for no less then forty years alone. These are venerable dates to chronicle. Union Chapel has exceeded the ordinary human span of threescore years and ten, and only two ministers have filled its pulpit—the one for forty, the other already for more than thirty, years. There are no reminiscences so strange and so affecting as those in which the minister, grown grey in the service of the sanctuary, indulges in reference to the early days when he came among his flock—especially if the flock be still his first—in the weakness, fear, and much trembling incidental to the commencement of his solemn charge.

The history of Union Chapel is an exceedingly interesting one. In that re-awakening of spiritual life which marked the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, the fusion of Churchmen and Nonconformists, which still prevails amongst earnest men in both communions, began to take place. On a large scale, it eventuated in great religious and missionary organisations, such as the British and Foreign Bible Society and others: in a narrower sphere, it gave birth, amongst other places of worship shared between the two bodies, to Union Chapel. This was common ground on which the more pronounced members of the Evangelical school within the Establishment, and liberal men outside the pale, met for purposes of worship and for mutual encouragement and edification. The parochial ministry at Islington in those days would seem not to have been so decidedly Evangelical in its character as now, and the bounds of Nonconformity have been greatly enlarged since the time when a handful of zealous men thus combined in what was happily named "Union" Chapel; their sole bond of sympathy being faith in a common Master, and love for all who bore His honoured name. Chapel, in fact, properly speaking, there was none. It was a veritable church-in-the-catacombs meeting. It resembled still more closely the assemblies which Paul, the prisoner of the Lord, gathered round him in his own hired house at Rome; for, during a space of two years, the Unionists, if we may coin such a term, met at No. 18, Highbury Grove, the Rev. Mr. Lewis being their appointed minister, and beginning what proved to be his long clerical career under those exceedingly humble auspices. When we look at what Union Chapel is now, it seems difficult to realise that it has grown from such beginnings in the comparatively short space of one span of human life, and under only two ministers. No doubt the latter fact explains, humanly speaking, the former. The whole work has been constructive from the beginning to the present time.

In 1806 a chapel was built in Compton Terrace, close to the manor-house of Canonbury, where Oliver Goldsmith wrote his Letters on English History. It is also particularly interesting to learn that the Rev. Henry Gauntlett, formerly vicar of historic Olney—the father of one of our most eminent Church musicians, Dr. Gauntlett, who was for twelve years the organist of this chapel—took part in its opening services. Thus strangely do links bind together the present and the past. Through the Rev. Henry Gauntlett we seem to be *en rapport* with Cowper and John Newton as we trace the modest annals of Union Chapel.

The ritual, again, was illustrative of the name. The liturgy of the Church of England was read in the morning, and extempore prayer adopted at only the evening service; the Lord's Supper being administered first at the Communion-table to the Episcopalians, and then in the accustomed method to the Nonconformists. Such union was indeed strength; and for nearly thirty years it continued to bear fruit. During this long period the affairs of the church—the admission of new members, &c.—were regulated by the minister, elders, and deacons, the congregation having no voice in the matter; but in 1835, shortly after the appointment of the Rev. John Watson as co-pastor, the *régime* was altered by the establishment of monthly church meetings, and the existing members of the body acquired the right of deliberation in the admission of new candidates. Those twenty-nine years, during which Churchmen and Nonconformists worked and worshipped together in such perfect unity, supply a most interesting solution of a difficult problem. Such an arrangement, however, could scarcely be other than temporary and transitional, though the time was protracted and the transition gradual. Mr. Watson having resigned his co-pastorship, in the year 1844 the Rev. Henry Allon, of Cheshunt College, was appointed as his successor and the coadjutor of Mr. Lewis. This co-pastorate continued for eight years, when Mr. Lewis died, at a good ripe age, and his assistant, having more than served a term of apprenticeship to the joint work of the ministry, was called by the united voice of the congregation to the sole pastorate of Union Chapel.

It was at a critical period of ecclesiastical, and especially of denominational, Church history, that the comparatively young minister found himself thus burdened with what may fairly be called an Atlas-load of responsibility. New energies had been awakened, and great organisations had come into force. It was necessary that the men in the front rank should be competent to guide the machinery and direct the nascent impetus. In the retrospect of his thirty years' accomplished labours, the minister of Union Chapel thus tersely and graphically referred to those surroundings amid which he found himself when his pastorate commenced. "Thirty years ago," he says, "the disabilities and restrictions which hampered the agencies and activities of the religious life of our Free Churches in England were about disappearing, and the difference in the social position and religious influence of Nonconformists, which has been the result, is immense. Evangelical Nonconformity was then, as it long had been, largely leavening the social life of England, both in the rural districts and in large towns, and was a chief element of the religious quickening of the Established Church. The impulse given by Whitefield and Wesley in the last century, and the enthusiasm created by the formation of the great missionary and Evangelical societies, the logical sequence of it, had developed out of their first embarrassed and imperfect stages; the passionate feeling of religious revival had been succeeded by the strong, practical power of intelligent organised life. . . . Thirty years ago, a new era of social evangelisation, of which ragged schools, theatre preachings, midnight meetings, and missions to the outcast have been the expressions, was just beginning. . . . The Socialistic forms of infidelity, that thirty years ago seemed to threaten the very hold of Christianity upon certain classes, have quietly subsided into insignificance." In a word, the earth yawned in the midst of the ecclesiastical forum, and the new minister of Union Chapel was one of those who leaped, mailed like Curtius, into the abyss. Old men who still attend regularly Dr. Allon's ministrations, and many of whom have fixed their residence in the northern suburb solely for the purpose of being near him, are wont to wax garrulous as they describe the hold which their young minister first took upon them when he succeeded to the sole pastorate, and how that hold and that influence grew until they culminated, if, indeed, they have yet reached the

summit, in the very distinguished position held among the Congregationalists by the subject of our memoir; a position, by the way, to which it would perhaps be difficult to find anything quite analogous in the Established Church. In the ministry to which Mr. Allon succeeded, he had to make his way in spite of his position, rather than aided by any advantages accruing from it.

By the time when the ministry had passed into younger hands, changes had supervened upon Union Chapel; but they were simply such changes as mark the normal growth of a community social or ecclesiastical. They were altogether in the way of greater definiteness. The need for fusion between Churchmen and Nonconformists in a single place of worship having passed away, the retention of what may literally be denominated a double ritual would have been meaningless; consequently, the twofold mode of administering the Lord's Supper was abolished on Mr. Allon's accession to office, and in the course of the same year the pastor gave his consent to the discontinuance of the liturgy in the morning service, the disuse of which had been for some time agitated. Into the vexed question as to the superiority of either of these forms it would be quite irrelevant to enter. The non-liturgical form is clearly more in harmony with Congregationalism, and therefore those who had the direction of affairs at Union Chapel were amply justified in eliminating what was a foreign element in its system, and which had only been originally introduced and for a long series of years continued as a graceful action of Christian charity and courtesy. It was like the parting of Abraham and Lot in the old Hebrew history. When communities grow old and strong enough to stand alone, it would be a sign of weakness and emasculation for one to remain dependent on another. The marked Evangelical character of churchmanship at Islington, and the almost miraculous prosperity of Union Chapel, are among the strongest possible endorsements of the wisdom which suggested this separation.

From the period of incipient ministry to the year 1864, which marks a definite stage in our biographical sketch, we have only to chronicle twenty years of continuous progress and success. Lights and shadows, of course, chequered the association of pastor and people; but they were only such as enhanced the beauty of the scene, like those very alternations of cloud and sunshine which fleck the fields on an April day. "Neither open breach nor latent schism," said the pastor of Union Chapel, when another decade had been added to the connexion, "qualifies the satisfaction and gratitude of the retrospect;" whilst of his own growth, simultaneous with that of the church during those twenty years, he adds: "The change of feeling wrought in myself by this constant, subtle, and complicate transformation of the church is hardly to be defined. The first consciousness of youth and inexperience; of being the last addition to the church society; the sense of ignorance and inadequacy to deal with the spiritual life of aged and mature Christian men, having large and manifold experience of the duties, temptations, and trials of religious life in a great city, gradually giving place to the feeling of comparative seniority, as year by year the old members of the church passed away and younger members were added to it; until children whom I had dedicated to God in baptism brought their children also—all this is very strange in the retrospect, and awakens very mingled feelings."

Beyond the data comprised in these expressive words, the chronicler of this good minister's life-history has little to guide him. That little is supplied by the statistical figures representing the growth of the community, and by such of the pulpit utterances from the pastor as are on record. Deferring, for the moment, the arithmetical or numerical criterion, it will be well to gather up one or two fragments illustrative of Dr. Allon's preaching powers. But even here we are met by a difficulty. Perhaps the most effective utterances in the pulpit are not always

—shall we say, not often?—those that bear repetition or read best in print. Many of Dr. Allon's sermons are preached from notes, though he usually writes and reads one each week; and here, again, is opened up a fruitful subject of debate as to the comparative advantages of extempore oratory and written composition. Where the gift exists, there is no doubt as to the immensely suasive force of extemporaneous utterance. The words seem, under such circumstances, perhaps even more than is neeessarily the case, to come directly from the heart. Some people are wont to make merry in reference to "book-parsons," and unduly to declaim against emotions which have been written down in the quietude of the study to be delivered second-hand, as they urge, and with a vamped-up fervour, in the pulpit a week afterwards, and possibly presented in a *réchauffé* when years have elapsed. There is generally a good deal to be said on both sides of a large question like this. Sceptical folks amongst us are apt to suspect that some so-called extemporaneous utterance is as mythical as *soi-disant* impromptu poetry. When we know for a matter of fact that even such a brilliant born wit as Richard Brinsley Sheridan kept always on hand a good stock of "impromptus" ready for use as occasion offered, we may be excused a little incredulity on the subject of improvisation. It is a very rare gift, and seldom co-exists with the widely different faculty for written composition. Where the power of extemporaneous oratory does not exist in a marked degree, common sense would seem to prompt the adoption of a written discourse.

It is almost amusing to notice the diffidence with which Mr. Allon, even after a pastorate of sixteen years, and when he had become distinguished in many departments of intellectual effort, alludes to his lack of ease and fluency in speech. Genius is always modest; and in proportion to the greatness of a man's thoughts will be his consciousness of the inadequacy of words to do justice to them. So it was that, in 1859, and on the interesting occasion of one of his numerous testimonials being presented to him, Mr. Allon craved permission to "read a few paragraphs," as being easier for himself and more satisfactory to his audience than if he addressed them extemporaneously. In the course of those "few paragraphs" he alludes most humorously to the trepidation with which he took his first service at Union Chapel, being conscious of the fact that no less than five Doctors of Divinity were in the congregation. Such a combination of theological power was enough to shake the nerves of a young man whose college curriculum had not yet been accomplished. Had these masters in Israel a presentiment of the "man of the future," that they thus brought their accumulated wisdom as an offering to the shrine? Here, at all events, is a specimen paragraph from among those read on the occasion—more florid than those of later years, perhaps, but still very fairly illustrative:—

"It is not expedient for me, doubtless, to glory; but bear with me in my folly. We have a right to our garment of praise, our garland, and our song. Thank God, we have hardly place for the spirit of heaviness! . . . . Difficulties we have had, but with our united hearts and efforts, they have been all easily surmounted. Ours may fairly be the joy of thankful prosperity—as much of the joy of the Church above as may be attained in the Church below. We may gird our singing robes about us, and call upon our souls and all that is within us to bless and praise God's holy name. The infancy of the Church has passed, the days of its feebleness are gone, it rejoices as a young man to run its race. God grant that it may never know the worldly coldness of maturer years, or the senile feebleness of age! God grant unto it perpetual youth, that it may run and not be weary, walk and not faint!" There is considerable freshness in these sentiments, though it is true they were written down beforehand, and read as paragraphs in an address.

Many years afterwards Professor F. W. Fisk, of Chicago, embodied in a long article, contributed to the *Boston Independent*, passages more typical still of Dr. Allon's later style. After detailing minutely the service at Union Chapel, which occupied an hour and three quarters, the writer added an analysis of a forty-five minutes' sermon by Dr. Allon, who was favourably known on the other side of the Atlantic, as well as in his native country. The passage of Scripture treated on this occasion was the exceedingly beautiful text, Heb. iv. 15: "In all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." "Throughout the Scriptures," said the preacher, "the Saviour presents Himself for our acceptance as the strong for the weak; and in the text we have *the Christ full of divine sympathy and help*. . . . . We sometimes admire the character which has not gone forth to the Gethsemanes of life with face bowed to the earth; but it is not so noble as the one which has successfully gone through these trials. The palm-tree in the conservatory is not so noble as the oak that has braved the storms."

Fas est ab hoste doceri. A valuable testimony to a man's worth may often be gathered by asking, What can be said against him? In a series of papers, contributed to a local journal, a sharp, but not unkindly, critic could find nothing worse to say of Dr. Allon's sermons (except the, to him, unpardonable sin of writing them) than that they were too argumentative. They suggested doubts, it was urged. The critic forgot that doubt is abroad, and that sophistry must be confronted by sound argument. False miracles have gone on alongside with true ones ever since the days of Pharaoh; and now, if ever, Moses and Aaron's rods must swallow up those of the magicians. An argumentative style may not tickle the ear like that adopted by the speakers of smooth things; but it is the very *desideratum* of an age which is specially captious, sceptical, and resting, above all else, on logic.

Without admitting Dr. Allon's modest *apologia* on the score of halting lips, we ventured to say that oratorical powers were not often combined with those of a facile pen. Dr. Allon is essentially the writer as well as the preacher. This is said advisedly; for though he writes his sermons he does not monotonously read them. He preaches them just as much as though he uttered them extemporaneously. His name, however, stands very high among the *literati* of Nonconformity. Side by side with his labours at Union Chapel have progressed those which extend over a wide and varied field of literature. He has contributed to the *Contemporary Review*, *The Bible Educator*, &c., and has written an excellent article on "Worship" for the volume of essays named "Ecclesia," edited by Dr. Reynolds. He has also published some lectures delivered at Exeter Hall, two of which, on the subject of "Church Song" (1861–62), have excited some attention. In the department of biography he has written a memoir of the Rev. J. Sherman, published in 1863; and another of Dr. Binney, prefixed to the volume of his posthumous sermons, which he edited. Since 1865 he has been first co-editor and then sole editor of the *British Quarterly Review*, for which he has written many articles. In works like these the preacher enlarges his radius, and so extends his influence indefinitely; and this circumstance re-acts upon his own more limited congregation who assemble from week to week within the walls of the place of worship where he is privileged to preside. The congregation listening to Dr. Allon's voice at Union Chapel Sunday after Sunday is a large one; but it by no means represents that vast circle which is reached by the strokes of his powerful pen.

Another potent means of influence prevalent in Union Chapel, and altogether due to the personal qualifications of its minister, is the excellence of its music. Dr. Allon has compiled and edited *The Congregational Psalmist*, a collection, in three sections, of tunes, chants, and anthems, of which over 250,000 copies have been sold. Musical papers—not always prone to

praise worship which is congregational rather than professional—are loud in their eulogy of the Union Chapel *cultus*. That *cultus* is essentially eclectic. It does not disdain Gregorian tones. It admits tunes that some would deem secular, but in reference to which one may well ask the pertinent question why all the attractive airs should be appropriated by other than religious influences. Tallis's Responses are not considered "High Church" at Islington, but are sung full-voiced by the congregation. The massive cadences of the great English harmonist thus rendered are finer than even the rugged intonations of Gregorian music sung in unison by those vast choirs of voices in a Continental cathedral on some festal occasion. Evidently with Dr. Allon himself this love of music is a passion, and potently indeed does he wield that magic wand in the element of praise at Union Chapel. Apart from all excellences of the preacher, it is worth a journey to Islington if only to see and hear that immense congregation.

The year 1864 has been spoken of as marking a sort of climax in Dr. Allon's fame. It was then he was appointed chairman of the Congregational Union—the highest honour which it is in the power of the body with which he is connected to confer. His address from the chair, at the time he held this office, on "The Book, the Christ, and the Church," produced some little excitement. In the same year Mr. Allon visited Palestine, Sinai, and Egypt. In 1871 he attained to the academical dignity which, so far, we have conferred upon him by anticipation, having received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Yale College, Newhaven, Connecticut. Foreign degrees have acquired a not very enviable notoriety; we need hardly say, however, that those conferred by Yale and by Harvard—the two great national seats of education in America—must not be confused with the spurious diplomas issued in the United States and elsewhere by many other so-called universities; and in this instance the graduation is as honourable to the body conferring as it is satisfactory to the individual receiving the distinction. Never, perhaps, was any title conferred which could be more accurately described as being bestowed "*honoris causâ*" than Dr. Allon's Transatlantic degree in theology.

A special feature of Dr. Allon's work at Union Chapel has been the establishment of periodical "religious conferences." The present is as essentially a wordy age as was that of Sophists in Athens. Dr. Allon did well to seize hold of this tendency to talk, and to guide it into a healthy channel. In these religious conferences the subject for discussion is introduced by himself, remarks upon it are then solicited, and interesting and sometimes warm and eager debate follows. It has been truly said that in these debates Dr. Allon delights in leading his flock to the limits of the knowable. Both here and in his written utterances he exhibits a broad and eclectic spirit, which is just as far from latitudinarianism on the one hand as it is from dogmatism on the other.

Dr. Allon does not hesitate to name, as among the evidences of quickened religious life during the period which has elapsed since he first assumed control at Union Chapel: "First, the participation of the Church (that is, the Established Church) in the Evangelical revival which Whitefield and Wesley originated—a reaction from the spiritual death and godlessness of the preceding century. . . . . Next, the still more potent religious quickening which began in Oxford forty years ago—a reaction from the materialistic philosophy which had become rampant, and of which John Henry Newman and Dr. Pusey have been the most prominent leaders. This has developed in form of doctrine of ritual and ecclesiastical assumption, with which we, so far from being in sympathy, are in traditional and fundamental antagonism, and which we regard as a treacherous betrayal of the avowed principles upon which the Church of Henry VIII. was founded. But still it was unmistakably a development of true, earnest,

self-denying spiritual life, and whether I see this in a Charles Simeon, or a John Henry Newman, I feel bound to accord it all credit, and to be thankful for whatever may be its genuine religious results."

Lastly, in the way of figures, statistical and otherwise. The "suburban village" of Islington, where Mr. Lewis took charge about seventy years ago, had grown, in 1844, when Mr. Allon succeeded, to 50,000, and is now more than 230,000. Continual enlargement and adaptation to growing needs have therefore been necessary. At length it was determined in 1875 to pull down the old building and to erect a new one at a cost of about £28,000. The first appeal to the congregation produced the sum of £13,000. In a letter dated January 1, 1876, containing the first public appeal for outside aid, it was stated that the new church would seat 1,650 persons, and the new schools accommodate 900 children. Mission-churches and ragged-schools are among the most active agencies for good. Two are supported by the church—the one at Spitalfields, the other in Lower Islington. In the schools, no less than 4,000 children are being taught, by 300 teachers. Now truly, if not in 1844, the burden is an Atlantean one to rest upon a single pair of shoulders.

But Union Chapel has been in many respects an El Dorado as far as works of piety and beneficence are concerned. To the London Missionary Society alone it has contributed upwards of £22,000. The aggregate of its contributions during its present pastorate has been considerably more than £130,000, while nearly 2,700 persons have been added to its fellowship. Allusion has been made to the various substantial testimonials by which the congregation have shown in the most practical form possible their esteem for their pastor. In 1874, at the completion of his thirty years' pastorate, Dr. Allon received no less a sum, by way of free gift, than £1,206 6s. 6d. This presentation was enhanced by the fact that it was spontaneous—a freewill offering in the fullest sense of the word; it was, indeed, originated and completed during a five days' absence of Dr. Allon in the country. No one, it was proudly said, had been asked to contribute a shilling.

It may seem as though, to some degree at least, Dr. Allon's biography has been merged in a history of Union Chapel. Perhaps no happier feature could have attached to our narrative. The good pastor seeks thus to lose self in his great work. The man is so closely bound up with the church that the history of the one is the biography of the other. Were we desirous of summarising Dr. Allon's life-history, we might do it concisely but graphically by taking our place in Union Chapel on a Sabbath morning, and, as the organ and choir sound forth the sonorous cadence of Tallis's Service, or the sweet tones of congregational psalmody, repeating the epitaph on the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral—"If you seek his monument, look around!"

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott & Fry.*]

The Marquis of Hartington, M.P.

WHATEVER abstract objections may be taken to the principle of an aristocracy by the opponents of a higher social order, it must be admitted that, in the ratio of their numbers, the English aristocracy are not behind any other class in this country as regards intellectual power and executive ability. There is no walk in life in which they have not been more or less successful, while as touches the capacity for government they have proved themselves especially able of late years. Scarcely a Cabinet has been formed during the present century in which the aristocratic element has not predominated, and those of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli have been no exceptions to the rule. It may be true that in many cases our aristocracy are taught to regard politics as their natural career, and one in which they may hope to become conspicuous; but the fact remains, that numbers of our most astute modern statesmen have been born to the purple. Many of the most singular proficients in Parliamentary oratory have also belonged to the higher grades of English society, though perhaps the few most eloquent speakers who have adorned the House of Commons (with the exception of the late Earl of Derby) have not sprung from the ranks of the aristocracy.

The present leader of the Liberal party is an instance in support of the ground assumed at the outset. Though he possesses neither the eloquence of a Bright nor of a Gladstone, he has other qualities which fully account for his attainment to the important position to which he was unanimously called by his party. It is noticeable that, though his lordship has but little passed his fortieth year, these qualities should have developed so rapidly that he has become the leader of Her Majesty's Opposition—as Mr. Disraeli took pride in describing himself when he filled for many years the same office for the Conservative party. The surprise with which many heard of the election of the Marquis of Hartington to the position vacated by Mr. Gladstone has given way to a feeling of satisfaction at the assiduity with which his lordship has devoted himself to political affairs, and the admirable manner in which he has fulfilled the arduous duties devolving upon him. With the exception of the office of Prime Minister, there is no position which calls for more strenuous intellectual exercise, more Job-like patience, or more consummate tact. The adage, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," might well be transferred to the guiding spirit of an English political party.

The Marquis of Hartington, as is probably well known, is a Cavendish, belonging to that family which has been established in Derbyshire for upwards of three centuries. His lordship's father, the present Duke of Devonshire, had a distinguished University career, being second wrangler at Cambridge, senior Smith's prizeman, and first class in the Classical Tripos in 1829. For twenty years he was Chancellor of the University of London, and since his accession to the dukedom he has been celebrated as a patron of the fine arts, and an ardent supporter of University reforms. While the son may not be able to boast of equal University success, his

achievements exceeded the average, and he took his M.A. at the early age of twenty-one. His career may be thus briefly sketched. Spencer Compton, Marquis of Hartington, was born in 1833; was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where, as we have already said, he graduated early, and was created LL.D. in the year 1862. He was brought up amidst Whig traditions, which he very readily imbibed, and speedily became an adept in politics. When only twenty-four he was returned in the Liberal interest for the northern division of Lancashire, where the Cavendish interest is very strong. For some time the young member did not give evidence that his political views were more advanced than those which are generally associated with the Whigs. But if his politics were not developed at the immediate outset of his career, Lord Hartington speedily demonstrated that he had a considerable aptitude for political life. He did not, as the manner of some is, unnecessarily obtrude himself upon the attention of the House—the surest way for a Parliamentary neophyte to destroy his chances of success—but when he spoke it was briefly to the purpose, in terse but not ornate language, and with no attempts at circumlocution. These characteristics of his early oratory have distinguished him all through his subsequent career. He is emphatically a sound, honest, and straightforward speaker—one whose meaning is always obviously clear and impossible of misapprehension. At length his time came for showing his capabilities more fully, and this was in the year 1859. Urged thereto by a feeling that the Derby-Disraeli Government was totally out of harmony with the feeling of the country, the Liberal party resolved to move a vote of want of confidence. The honour of proposing the resolution was offered to Lord Hartington. The young politician accepted it, and acquitted himself well of the somewhat unenviable task. A chronicler of the time has described the scene during the whole of this memorable debate, when Mr. Disraeli made one of his most characteristic speeches. As the moment arrived for the motion of no confidence—a step which had not been taken for twenty years—it is stated that "all eyes were naturally turned on the Marquis of Hartington, who presented himself in the shape of a very young-looking and, on the whole, good-looking and gentlemanly man, not unlike his father, who was better known as the Earl of Burlington than since he has subsided into the Dukedom of Devonshire, except that the Marquis is dark-haired. It was palpable in a moment that, though not a practised speaker, the noble lord had got up his speech well, and once, when he replied to an ironical interruption by an impromptu retort, his somewhat cold manner forsook him, and he showed that there was fire to be struck out of him by the right touch." The speech, which was regarded as successful by the leaders on the Liberal side of the House, had the effect of rallying the scattered elements of the Opposition, and giving to them a formidable cohesion.

Such was Lord Hartington's first essay of any magnitude in the Parliamentary arena, and one with which he had every reason to be satisfied. For four years afterwards—that is, until March, 1863—little more was heard of his lordship, who preserved all the reticence of a private member. In the last-named year, however, the Palmerston Ministry was subjected to some obloquy, owing to what may be described as the Stansfeld-Mazzini incident. Mr. Stansfeld's relations with the Italian patriot were the subject of much animadversion on the part of the Conservative Opposition. Lord Palmerston, with that generosity of feeling and English courage which always distinguished him, at once offered to stand by his subordinate, Mr. Stansfeld, who at that time occupied the post of Civil Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Stansfeld, however, not wishing to be a source of embarrassment to the Administration, insisted upon tendering his resignation, which was accepted by the Prime Minister. The place was then offered to Lord Hartington, who accepted it, and he was thus for the first

time introduced to official life. He only, however, retained the appointment for a little over a twelvemonth, as in May, 1864, he was transferred to the Under-Secretaryship for War. In the history of British administrations it will frequently be found—whether owing to some occult reason or another we cannot say—that the aptitude which a junior member of the Government has shown in a special department is by no means a certainty, when he is promoted, of ensuring his continuance in the work at which he has become a proficient. On the contrary, numerous instances could be cited where Ministers and junior Ministers have been unceremoniously transferred from spheres where their usefulness has been abundantly proved, to others where they have everything to learn, from the very initial steps, of officialism. This is one of the mysteries of political life. As regards the Marquis of Hartington and his relations with the War Office, however, history records an exception to this rule. From the post of Under-Secretary he was transferred to the high and responsible one of Minister for War. It may have been that he discovered a special fitness for coping with the questions which were continually arising in connection with the army; one thing is certain—that he was always regarded as a most efficient and able Secretary for War. It may also be mentioned that in this, as well as all other official positions which it has been the lot of his lordship to occupy, he has always been credited with a great capacity for work, and a determination to make himself master of the minutest details connected with the office whose direction he assumed. He had a long stay at the War Office, and no charge of perfunctoriness in duty was ever preferred against him. One of his great characteristics as a Minister was his constant and assiduous attention to the duties of his office; and this is all the more remarkable when we reflect that if his lordship had chosen to adopt the easy and seductive *rôle* of a leader of society, he would have had few equals. It is a hopeful sign when the heirs to the highest honours of the aristocracy will thus devote themselves with unflagging energy and perseverance to the public service.

During the Reform struggles which preceded the fall of Lord John Russell's Ministry, Lord Hartington continued to hold the post of Minister for War—that is, under the two Premiers, Lords Palmerston and Russell. These were exciting times in the House of Commons; and Lord Hartington had many opportunities of showing that the confidence which had been reposed in him had not been misplaced. For two years, however, the Liberals lost the reins of power; but in 1868 Mr. Gladstone came into office, supported by the public voice in a manner so emphatic as a statesman has rarely been supported before. He felt that he had special work to perform; and in constructing his Cabinet he did not lose sight of the services which Lord Hartington had hitherto rendered to the Liberal party. The portfolio of Postmaster-General was offered to his lordship, with the seat in the Cabinet he had formerly held by virtue of his position as Minister for War. This office he continued to hold until 1870, when certain internal changes took place in the Gladstone Government. It was deemed advisable by the Premier to make a re-adjustment of offices, and in the course of the changes effected, Mr. Chichester Fortescue resigned the Secretaryship for Ireland, and accepted the Presidency of the Board of Trade. Opportunity was thus again afforded to Lord Hartington of extending his knowledge of official life; and in the re-adjustment of the Cabinet he consented to accept the vacant Secretaryship. During his lordship's tenure of this office, the condition of Ireland was such as to cause grave concern to the executive Government; and the task before the new Secretary was a most difficult one. Nevertheless, it was admitted on all hands, and by both parties, that during an exciting period Lord Hartington exhibited great discretion in what was virtually the government of Ireland.

Early in the year 1874 the break-up of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry occurred. Every one

will remember the excitement which was caused by the Prime Minister's manifesto. He appealed to the country, and, as is frequently the case in England, he discovered that the political tide had changed. This is not the place wherein to discuss politics; nor have we any intention of doing so: we can simply record facts. Mr. Gladstone had been pursuing a system of legislation as regards the sister Island which was received with unbounded favour, and at no period in this century were the measures of a Minister received with such apparent universal satisfaction. We are speaking now from the popular point of view, and not simply the political. The Irish measures of the Government were passed by large majorities, and were hailed with enthusiasm. But peoples, like individuals, are subject to change, and to active legislation succeeded a period of quietude. The nation, by its response to the appeal of Mr. Gladstone, declared its partiality for a policy of abstention—at least, as regarded the immediate future—and Mr. Gladstone, being a constitutional Minister, bowed to its will. He retired from power, and was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli. With the retirement of the ex-Premier, Lord Hartington once more found himself in the ranks of the Opposition.

The families of the Earl of Derby and the Duke of Devonshire both wield a powerful influence in Lancashire; and in any record of the career of the scions of either house we must mention that great occasion in 1868, at the general election, when Lord Hartington and the Hon. Frederick Stanley, second son of the late Earl of Derby, fought for the representation of North Lancashire. The struggle excited great interest at the time, but in the end the Stanleys were successful, and the Cavendishes were compelled to retire. Lord Hartington was driven to seek a seat elsewhere, and this he speedily secured at New Radnor, which constituency he has continued to represent. A Cabinet Minister has seldom any difficulty in procuring a seat in the House of Commons when his party has really need of him.

Lord Hartington's greatest political opportunity came in 1875, when Mr. Gladstone, writing to Earl Granville, formally resigned the leadership of the Liberal party. Speculation was at once set afloat respecting the right honourable gentleman's successor. To follow in the wake of the greatest financier of the century, and one of the most powerful of our Parliamentary debaters, may well have given pause to any man. With the exception of Mr. Bright—whose acceptance of the office was of course from the first an impossibility—it was difficult to see who could undertake the task of reuniting the discordant elements of the Liberal party with any chance of success. Mr. Lowe's name was mentioned, and though perhaps as regards mere intellectual ability he was the most conspicuous member of the party, he lacked those qualities which were necessary in organising a party after one of the greatest and most unaccountable collapses of modern times. Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe being disposed of, the field for a leader became somewhat restricted. The name of Mr. W. E. Forster, the member for Bradford, was mentioned in many quarters, but the right honourable gentleman never allowed himself to be formally put forward as a candidate for the post. In fact, knowing that there was but one person round whom the party could eventually rally, he disinterestedly withdrew his name, and thus rendered the matter of selection easy. There was thus, as Mr. Forster said, but one Liberal politician left who could, with good augury, step into the position vacated by Mr. Gladstone, and that was the nobleman whose biography we are detailing. Writing before the election, the *Daily News*, representing a wide section of the Liberal party, made these observations:—"The Liberal party is even still supposed to have some motive for keeping together, some political principle to carry into action, some improvements in national legislation still to accomplish, something which in the days more given to eloquent abstractions people

would have called a cause; therefore it is quite true that Lord Hartington, as leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons will hardly be able to play the cautious waiting game which was possible for Mr. Disraeli. He cannot sit session after session watching for the blunders of his opponents, and content to do nothing so long as they are prevented from doing all that they would desire. But although Lord Hartington, should he be chosen as leader of the Liberal party, cannot count merely upon a policy of inaction, it is very unlikely that anybody will expect him to venture on a policy of enterprise for some time to come. We should be inclined rather to believe that for the present any experiment of the kind essayed from the Liberal side of the House will be the work of that class of persons who are specially obnoxious to Mr. Disraeli, the independent, or, as he would have it, the irresponsible members. It would not be for the interest of the Liberal party, even if it could be done, that the new leader should seek to repress altogether the political enterprise of individuals. Therefore, it should be understood that the allegiance which the whole party is honourably bound to pay to the future leader is tendered with a clear reservation of the individual right of action." We may pause at this juncture to observe that this right has been freely conceded by the leader himself. The distinction between the two great political parties is this—that while the Liberal party is necessarily composed of many separate sections, the basis and life of the Conservative party are found in the fact that, whether composed of many individual members or few, it invariably presents the aspect of one united, unbroken phalanx. It is the one and only party from whom absolute cohesion can upon all great occasions be relied upon.

On the 3rd of February, 1875, a great meeting of the Liberal party took place at the Reform Club, for the purpose of electing a successor to Mr. Gladstone. All shades of Liberals were represented, and the attendance of members numbered 140. On the motion of Mr. Cowper-Temple, seconded by Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. John Bright was called to the chair, amidst acclamation. After a short address from the chairman upon the objects which had called them together, Mr. Whitbread moved a resolution expressive of the deep sense of the meeting at the great loss which the country had sustained by the retirement of Mr. Gladstone. Professor Fawcett, an independent supporter of the late leader, seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried. Mr. Charles Villiers, a veteran member of the House of Commons, then rose to propose the Marquis of Hartington as Mr. Gladstone's successor, and the heartiness with which the name was received abundantly testified to the good impression which his lordship had made upon his political friends. Mr. Samuel Morley seconded the resolution, and in doing so the honourable member, who had previously inclined to the selection of Mr. Forster, remarked: "It is no disparagement to any member of the party when I say that it is no easy task to select a gentleman qualified to occupy the post of leader of the Liberal party with such distinguished ability and such pre-eminent lustre as Mr. Gladstone. But setting that aside, I do trust that we shall be able to see our way to an unanimous conclusion. I may say this with the more readiness because I have explained that I had originally a preference in another direction. Notwithstanding this, I now most cordially and heartily second the proposition which has been made." The various sections of the Liberal party were thus united upon one common ground, and the election of the Marquis of Hartington as leader was perfectly unanimous. Lord Frederick Cavendish returned thanks for his brother's election, and assured the meeting of his desire to serve Liberal principles, whether it was as leader, or as occupying merely the position of a private member. Upon a vote of thanks being passed to Mr. Bright for presiding at the meeting, the right honourable gentleman, in the course of his reply, paid a tribute to the new leader, which is worthy of extraction here:

"Lord Hartington, in being so young a man, possesses great advantages, which will enable him to more successfully discharge the duties which we have invited him to assume. He is, I am happy to say—I hope he will long continue to be—in robust health. He has plenty of courage, and he has moreover what in the North of England is called hard-headedness. He is a very sensible man, and only requires great occasions to bring out his great good sense. That being so, the position we have now offered him will be one that will give him the opportunity not only of personal distinction, but of conferring very great services upon his party. I may say that I look forward with considerable—I may say with very great—confidence to his future, and to the success of the party in future under him. My own impression is that we have done the right thing at the right time, and in the right manner. If there be any here who know the sentiments of our late leader with respect to this question, I think they will agree with me when I say that what we have done will probably meet with his sympathy. I only hope that the Liberal party in time to come—and I hope that time will not be a remote time—will, under our new leader, accomplish some great things for the interests of the country, which things, I trust, may fairly be put in competition with what has been done by our late leader." Mr. Bright's observations upon this memorable occasion were loudly applauded; and it is no secret that the private sentiments of Mr. Gladstone were in perfect accord with the utterances of the right honourable member for Birmingham.

How has Lord Hartington fulfilled Mr. Bright's vaticinations? Called to assume the responsibility of so onerous a post while comparatively a young man, the new leader was naturally the cynosure of men of both parties. Commencing with some advantages in his favour, he unquestionably laboured under very considerable drawbacks, the most important of which were, first, his having to succeed so distinguished a man as Mr. Gladstone; secondly, his being called to the post of leader at a time when the Liberal party had just become disorganised, holding out very little hope of consolidation on any one great question for many years to come. To set against this there was the hearty and unanimous, though still only general, support now tendered him by the various sections of the party, and the great fact that he was on the most cordial terms with Lord Granville, whose wisdom and whose Liberalism have always been accepted as beyond doubt. There were those who desired a leader from other ranks than that of the aristocracy; but their fears as to whether the nobleman chosen to the office would devote himself heartily to the task before him have since been dissipated. Lord Hartington kept himself well in hand, and preferred to let his power be gradually perceived. Caution and perspicacity are two strongly developed points in his character, and in the long run these will always be more successful than simple brilliancy, dash, and impetuosity. Mr. Bright has invariably been known for saying precisely what he means, and the terms in which he spoke of Lord Hartington were well calculated to inspire confidence in the minds of waverers. Writing at the close of the session of 1875, and on the completion of Lord Hartington's first term as leader of the Liberal party, the *Times* remarked: "No part of the responsibility for slackness in legislation can be evaded on the pretext of troublesome energy on the part of the Opposition. The choice of a leader, which was made on the eve of the session, has, on the whole, been justified by experience. Lord Hartington has been industrious and punctual in the discharge of his novel duties. He has spoken at the proper time in every debate of the session, and he has seldom failed to raise some plausible objection to the proposals of the Ministry. At the same time he has abstained from factious opposition; and on some occasions, as on the Irish Coercion Bill, he has afforded the Government seasonable and patriotic support. An impatient leader, who had

in the present state of affairs shown himself hungry for office, would have offended the taste of the House of Commons and of the country. The defect, though not the fault of Lord Hartington, as a leader of the Opposition, is that on many important questions he is not followed by his party; but it may be admitted that no competitor for his post would have commanded greater unanimity." The experience of the session of 1876, however, shows that there is a greater unanimity between the Liberals of the House of Commons and their leader than the *Times* had given credit for. On several important occasions they worked admirably together; while in the course of one particular discussion Lord Hartington gave evidence of the possession of qualities of debate which had never been suspected. We refer to the conflict which arose upon Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Resolution, when Lord Hartington replied to Mr. Disraeli in such a manner as to show that he was rapidly gaining the confidence and the self-possession requisite for successful leadership. He rallied the Prime Minister in somewhat of his own fashion upon his discovery that the Burials question was after all a "sanitary" and not a "sectarian" question; and caused much laughter by picturing the Home Secretary's regret that the burial inspector had been attached to the Home Office instead of to the Local Government Board, and Mr. Cross's desire to deal with this question by removing the responsibility from his own shoulders to those of the President of the Local Government Board. His Lordship became more forcible still when he demanded of the Government whether any amount of sanitary legislation was likely to do away with the grievances of the Nonconformists?

Though it must be conceded that Lord Hartington is neither an impassioned nor a highly imaginative orator, he can, as we have seen, be very effective by the exercise of a shrewd common sense, a keen perception, and that "hard-headedness" to which Mr. Bright referred. Unquestionably his most successful appearance as a speaker hitherto was at the close of the session of 1875, when the leader of the Opposition took the opportunity (which belongs to him of right on the reading of the Appropriation Bill) of reviewing the expiring session. His indictment of the policy of the Government on this occasion was very able, and put with a clearness and a force which must have surprised even Mr. Disraeli himself. The Ministry had promised a large number of measures of peaceful legislation, and Lord Hartington pointed out mercilessly where he considered they had failed to redeem their promises. The whole speech was a pleasant surprise for the noble lord's own party. The following was his peroration in summing up his charges against Mr. Disraeli:—"I ask the House whether, in its opinion, the character of its debates has been raised under the leadership of the right honourable gentleman. I ask whether much time has not been spent upon personal questions—questions of privilege, and other interruptions of the ordinary course of public business. I am quite aware that it would not be fair to charge all or even a large part of those interruptions upon Her Majesty's Government; but I do ask whether the right honourable gentleman led the House wisely when he supported the honourable member for Londonderry in his motion to summon the printers of two newspapers to the bar of this House upon a matter which, after all, was merely personal. I ask again whether it has ever happened before that a measure should only be introduced when the necessity for it had been forced upon the attention of the House by what the right honourable gentleman chose to call a dramatic scene. I say, sir, that when we remember that dramatic scene and the circumstances which led to it, the House has reason to blush for the history of the present session. I would willingly have allowed the session to expire with the silence which best befitted it; but when it was held up in favourable comparison with some of its glorious predecessors, I am bound to express the opinion which I firmly maintain—an opinion which,

I believe, will be re-echoed by the country: that, compared with some—indeed, many—of its predecessors, this session has been marked by feebleness, has been aimless and purposeless, barren of benefit to the country and of credit to Parliament." The incisiveness and ability of this speech alone, of which we have given the few closing words—regarded altogether apart from the question of party politics—afford ample justification for the orator's choice of a Parliamentary career. His lordship also delivered several noticeable speeches during the progress of the Royal Titles Bill through the House of Commons, in March, 1876.

The Marquis of Hartington has in all probability a long prospect of usefulness before him as the leader of the Liberal party. He is a frank and courteous opponent, and his political talents, though perhaps somewhat tardy of development, cannot fail to be found of substantial benefit to the country.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied by permission from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

Robert Lowe

The Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P.

THAT the most intellectual of English statesmen should also be the one most notable for lack of personal popularity is a fact both curious and instructive. If we study the life-history of the Right Honourable Robert Lowe we need have little difficulty in finding a clue to the mystery. Politics abstractly considered may be a science, as some enthusiastic *doctrinaires* hold. In England, however, this so-called science is not entirely an affair of the head, for if it were, then undoubtedly the member for London University would be the future leader of the English people. Statesmanship in this country, is to a great extent an affair of the heart. The persons whom it affects are neither dead nor devoid of feelings. They are men and women of like passions with politicians themselves, and such being the case, they are not capable of being controlled or influenced by logic-chopping or abstract reason alone. Their actions are liable to be swayed by subtler moral and spiritual forces, the sum of which may be vaguely expressed by the term sympathy. When we say that Mr. Robert Lowe, of all the political chiefs who have ever risen to eminence in this country, is the one whose statesmanship and administration are in their character as unsympathetic as they are rigidly intellectual, we have explained in brief epitome the secret of his success as a politician, and of his failure as a statesman. Intellectual gifts of a severely high order, a capacity for trenchant criticism, an almost heartless delight in its free and unsparing exercise, a determined ambition to elbow one's way past all obstacles to a place in the Cabinet—these qualities are certain to enable a man to succeed brilliantly as a politician. But after he has attained the glittering prize of office, other and subtler gifts are required to develop the rising politician into a powerful statesman, and enable him to sway the judgments and the passions of a great and free democracy. As we shall see, it is because Mr. Lowe is unfortunately devoid of all democratic sympathies—because, in point of fact, he entertains and frankly expresses his contempt for popular rule—that he has failed to be what his marvellous intellectual gifts entitle him to become, the acknowledged successor of Mr. Gladstone, as leader of the Liberal party, and future Premier of Great Britain.

For, unless, perhaps, we go back to the year 1811, when he made his first appearance in the nursery at the Bingham Rectory, in Notts, we shall fail to discover a time when Mr. Lowe could by any stretch of language be called popular. Even as a lad at Winchester school he was imperious and aggressive. He was always clever, always pushing his way up to a position of authority and command. But though at Winchester his swiftly developing intellectual power made him respected and not a little feared by all who knew him, it is impossible to deny that he had an utter want of sympathy for the mental inferiority of his "weaker brethren" which rendered him by no means the most beloved boy in the school. He got on a little better at Oxford, where he joined University College. Possibly he found his level more easily there, and by association with a few young men who were as clever as himself, some of the more disagreeable angularities

of his character may have been smoothed down. But even at University College his characteristic determination, "never to be beaten by anybody," got free scope. He was fortunately gifted with great physical as well as mental strength, with an iron will and an unlimited capacity for hard and sustained work. He soon excelled all his contemporaries—a striking achievement at a time when amongst them might be reckoned the present Dean of Christchurch and the late Master of Baliol. When he took his degree he won the most brilliant first class in classics of his year, and not content with thus achieving distinction in one branch of scholarship, he aspired to win it in another, by taking second-class honours in mathematics. This was in 1833, and during the next three years he seems to have entertained a desire to devote himself to academic pursuits. He was elected a Fellow of Magdalen, and devoting himself to tuition, he became famed far and wide as the most brilliant and successful of tutors and lecturers. In 1836 he married, and giving up his Fellowship, betook himself to the study of the law. We wonder if it be still remembered what a narrow escape the future Chancellor of the Exchequer had at this period from sinking into the dignified provincial obscurity of Scottish academic life. In 1838, he became a candidate for the chair of Greek in the University of Glasgow. His opponent, Mr. Lushington, was a most amiable, pleasant, scholarly gentleman, though in point of intellectual acumen or scholastic attainments he was Mr. Lowe's inferior. A tradition has come down that the quiet stolid college in the commercial capital of Scotland became not a little alarmed at the prospect of having amongst its Senatus Academicus the cleverest and most unpopular man in Oxford. They were not what could be called a very bright corporation, and we may well suppose they did not work hard to secure the election of the most brilliant scholar in England, whose reputation for want of sympathy with dull people had doubtless come to their ears. The appointment was in the hands of thirteen electors who were professors, and who had the power of translating from one professorship to another. Mr. Lowe had at first ten votes secured as against the three that were pledged for Mr. Lushington. But it chanced that a professor was dying at the time, and in exchange for being secured translation to his chair, Mr. Lowe's chief supporter abandoned him, and, being a man of great influence, turned the scale in favour of Mr. Lushington. It is hard to say whether Glasgow or Mr. Lowe was the greater gainer by his defeat. There can be little doubt that if he had settled in the North, the ridiculous abuses then connected with Scottish university education would have been exposed to a fire of caustic criticism, and probably reformed long before the new and improved system was inaugurated by the labours of the Scottish University Commission in 1858. In the meantime professorial society in Glasgow would have had to sacrifice much of its ease and tranquillity, and instead of England getting a great politician, the *Edinburgh Review* would probably have acquired a new and witty contributor, who might perhaps have succeeded to the editorial chair.

In 1842 Mr. Lowe was called to the Bar by the Most Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. It is believed by many, and it has been publicly stated, that Mr. Lowe at this period of his career added to his income by writing for the *Times*. A romantic story has been concocted about Mr. Delane, the editor of the leading journal, being an old pupil of Mr. Lowe's at Oxford, and out of grateful remembrance of his old master, giving him employment on the paper. There is no truth whatever in any of these statements. Mr. Delane was never Mr. Lowe's pupil. The right honourable gentleman never wrote for the *Times* till after his return from Australia in 1850. When Mr. Lowe was called to the Bar, there was a great deal of enthusiasm for emigration to the Antipodes. Every young man of energy and intelligence was possessed with the notion that if he joined the "rush" that was then being made for the new country which was being "opened

up" under the Southern Cross, he would speedily make his fortune. Mr. Lowe was one of those who left the mother-country, and identified himself with the early struggles of the great colony of New South Wales. He attained a moderate practice as a barrister in Sydney, and took a keen interest in the political life of the colony. A man with his extraordinary mental gifts and force of character was not likely to be long absent from the front rank of Australian political leaders. His rhetorical talents and ability as a debater gained him a seat in the Legislative Council in 1843. He took a leading share in framing the constitution of the colony, and in 1848 he was elected member for Sydney. Curiously enough, the old academic leaven was still at work within him. Though no longer a teacher of youth, it was to education, as if by instinct, that he devoted his attention most closely. To Mr. Lowe the Australian colonies are indebted, for the most part, for that admirable system of public instruction which they have so long enjoyed. The reforms he introduced into the educational system of New South Wales have been extensively adopted all over the continent, and though it is impossible to say that he was any more popular in the colony than he was at Winchester or Oxford, there can be little doubt he was looked up to with admiration and respect as one of the ablest politicians in the colony. When he had been some seven or eight years in Australia he found himself possessed of a competence, and in 1850 he again appeared in England—and apparently determined to enter political life. He stood for Kidderminster, a rather rough constituency in those days, at the general election in 1852—the year that Lord Macaulay was, without seeking the honour, elected by Edinburgh, and Sir George Cornewall Lewis was defeated at Hertford. It was clear that Mr. Lowe meant to succeed in politics. He entered the House of Commons as a Liberal with Tory tendencies, and he was classed as an "independent member." No party pledges prevented him from making himself as candid as possible when it was his duty to pass adverse criticism on the doings of the Government. As we have seen, no instinct of sympathy, no feeling of deference was likely to silence his trenchant tongue or soften the edge of his keen and caustic wit when dealing with the misdeeds of a Ministry in the spirit of the candid but severely critical friend. When a gentleman gifted like Mr. Lowe sits under the gangway, and pours a constant stream of vitriolic criticism on the proceedings of his party chiefs, and when he does it with a marked ability almost amounting to genius, everybody knows that he means to sit on the Treasury bench himself, and that he must be accommodated there as speedily as possible is a conviction which very swiftly works its way into the mind of the Premier for the time being. Mr Lowe entered the House of Commons with all the prestige of his brilliant Oxford career and his success as an Antipodean senator at his back. Some predicted that he would be a failure because he was too clever and professorial. Others said that his wonderful capacity for irritating people would prove fatal to him, but both classes of prophets were doomed to be disappointed. He had the good sense to make his first very prominent public appearance in the *rôle* which suited him best, that of searching criticism. He attacked Mr. Disraeli's Budget resolutions in an address full of acumen and logical vigour, and his speech had much weight with the House in influencing them to reject Mr. Disraeli's proposal and overthrow the Derby Government. When Lord Aberdeen's Ministry came into power, Mr. Lowe was offered a place as Vice-President of the Board of Trade. The Liberal Government evidently thought it would be better to have the member for Kidderminster in the Ministry than outside it. That they were justified by events was to be expected. Mr. Lowe proved an excellent official. He was patient, clear-headed, and he brought everything connected with his rather sleepy department to the rough-and-ready test of common sense. He was not popular, however

—he did his work far too thoroughly and conscientiously. Amongst his subordinates in office he was hardly regarded with feelings of affection, for he was not the kind of man to let things move along easily in the old jog-trot grooves. Like Miss Rosa Dartle in "David Copperfield," Mr. Lowe, as the head of a department, is always "asking for information," and than that there can be no greater disqualification for popularity in an easy-going Government office. One of the first things he did was to attempt to regulate the abuses connected with local dues on shipping. He made himself a master of the subject, but in his manner of dealing with the Opposition to the measure introduced by him, he succeeded in rousing such a fierce combination of enraged vested interests that the Bill had to be withdrawn. It may be imagined with what wrath municipal authorities heard him—in reply to Sir F. Thesiger (afterwards Lord Chelmsford), who complained he was interfering with the rights of property in attempting to regulate local dues—say, "When Sir Frederick Thesiger speaks of property, the Bill speaks of taxes. There is property in land and capital. But property in another man's property is of that kind which is not legal. It was M. Prudhomme's property." At the general election of 1857 Mr. Lowe again stood for Kidderminster. It was an exciting time, for Lord Palmerston had appealed to the country to vindicate his warlike Chinese policy against the attacks of the peace party. Mr. Bright was rejected by Manchester. Mr. Cobden was also amongst the non-elected, and though Mr. Lowe was more fortunate than either, he had to pay dearly for his re-election. An infuriated mob made a savage attack upon him, and on the hustings the men of Kidderminster made his silver-white head a target for brickbats and various other missiles of still more offensive character. In 1859 he got a quieter and easier seat. The borough of Calne, an appanage of the Lansdowne family, returned him, and he represented this tiny constituency till the election following the last Reform Bill, when he was returned to Parliament by the University of London, in 1868. In June, 1859, he was appointed to an office for which he was peculiarly well qualified—Vice-President of the Privy Council Committee on Education. Whoever holds this position is understood to be Minister of Public Instruction in England. When Mr. Lowe took office he found our system of primary education in the most chaotic condition, and it was controlled and aided in an unbusinesslike manner. With dauntless energy he set himself to reform it all, and it is to his lasting credit that he constructed out of an amorphous mass of confusion something like a symmetrical and intelligible scheme of popular education. He introduced into the Education Office the great principle of payment by results, and he was the first Minister who secured for the people real value for the Parliamentary grants which were voted in aid of education year after year, without any evidence being ever forthcoming as to whether they were not subsidies to ignorance rather than to knowledge. It might be open to many well-founded objections, but after all Mr. Lowe's principle of payment by results has one merit, that it is a rough-and-ready way of guaranteeing at least a minimum of efficiency. Previous to his time we had not even that much secured to us for our money. Although he ruffled the susceptibilities of the clergy and schoolmasters, he did the public a grand and lasting service, and his unpopularity amongst the clerical and scholastic parties only shows how sturdily he defended the interests of the State against sectarian and professional encroachments. Unfortunately, Mr. Lowe had made many enemies, and a combination of them voted for the following resolution, which Lord Robert Cecil proposed in the House of Commons on the 12th of April, 1864:—"That in the opinion of this House the mutilation of the Reports of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, and the exclusion from them of statements and opinions adverse to the educational views of the Committee of Council, while matters favourable to them are

admitted, are violations of the understanding under which the appointment of Inspectors was originally sanctioned by Parliament, and tend to destroy the value of their reports." We need not say the insinuation meant to be conveyed was that Mr. Lowe falsified public documents for the purpose of defeating the Church party, whose educational views were so diametrically opposed to his own—which are broad and secular. Lord Robert Cecil carried his motion, and Mr. Lowe, with commendable high spirit, resigned office. He demanded the appointment of a committee to inquire into his conduct. They entirely exonerated him from all trace of suspicion, so much so that their report led to Lord Robert Cecil's resolution being formally rescinded. Still Mr. Lowe did not return to office. From this day to the time he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer by Mr. Gladstone, in 1868, he lived in glorious independence as a Parliamentary free-lance—during which portion of his career he won his greatest fame as an orator and a dashing *sabreur* of debate.

A clever man like Mr. Lowe has always many foes. Hence it is that the "free-lance" period of his life, which is perhaps the most brilliant one, is and has been subjected to much uncharitable criticism. In 1865 he had made his accession to a reforming Ministry impossible by a famous anti-Reform speech challenging and ridiculing the doctrine that the working classes had an inherent right to Parliamentary representation. So when, in 1865, Lord Russell formed an administration, he entirely ignored Mr. Lowe's claims for office. He was one of the most honest and capable administrators in the Liberal party, and had proved himself a most useful public servant. Though Lord Russell treated Mr. Lowe civilly enough, it was very hard that he should be passed over as if he were an utterly incompetent person; and thus the member for Calne became the rock on which his lordship's administration was wrecked. We are not amongst those who believe that disappointed ambition rather than honest conviction inspired those marvellous attacks on Lord Russell's Reform Bill, which mainly contributed to the defeat of his Government. But the chances are, that if Mr. Lowe had been better treated by the Prime Minister, his criticisms might not have been so bitterly harsh, and so caustically stinging. There is not the least doubt that any democratic change in the direction of lowering the suffrage must have been repulsive to one whose deep-rooted scepticism as to the value of popular convictions was a matter of notoriety. Even if he had been offered and had accepted a seat in the Cabinet, he would probably have seceded from it over the question of Reform, just as Lord Cranborne deserted Mr. Disraeli's Ministry when they developed a policy of democratic concession. Mr. Lowe openly revolted from the Liberal party when he delivered his remarkable speech against Mr. Baines' Reform Bill on the 3rd of May, 1865. This measure was thrown out by an Opposition organised by Lord Elcho and Mr. Adam Black, member for Edinburgh, popularly known as the Nestor of the House of Commons. Mr. Lowe's speech against it was a model of severe classical polish; a trifle cold, perhaps, but brilliant and glittering like a diamond of the purest water. He argued that we had no right to expect under a democracy the good government attained by America. "The wealth which America possesses," said Mr. Lowe, in a memorable passage, "is of a kind which America did not create, and which she cannot destroy. It is due to the boundless beneficence of the Giver, beside whose works those undertaken and executed by the human race sink into insignificance. The valleys even of the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates, seem ridiculously small when compared with the valley of the Mississippi, which it has been calculated would afford residence to 240,000,000 people without crowding. No tumult, no sedition, can ever destroy these natural advantages. But what is our property here? It is the fabric of the labour of generations, raised slowly and with infinite toil; and to continue it, it is indispensable that it

should rest on seeure foundations." When the Russell-Gladstone Government introdueed their Reform Bill in 1866, Mr. Lowe joined Mr. Horsman and the "Adullamites," as they were dubbed by Mr. Bright, in organising a party of resistanee. Night after night did Mr. Lowe pour forth a series of terse, epigrammatie eritieisms upon this luekless measure. Even the clerieal party amongst the Tories began to soften towards him, and regard him as a brand mercifully plueked from the expiring embers of Whiggery. His logie, his learning, his wit, his unrivalled command of contemptuous inveetive, were all strained to the very utmost to give voiee to the latent eonvictions and fears of the Conservatives, and no man ever put the ease against Reform so eogently as did Mr. Lowe. There is only one passage in these extraordinary addresses of mueh biographieal interest. It was delivered on 26th of April, 1866, on the seventh evening of the Reform Bill debate, in whieh Mr. Lowe refers to the faet that he had been charged with betraying Lord Russell. Very few who heard him will ever forget the little angry snort with whieh he burst out—"I dispute that! I have served, unfortunately, for ten years under two Prime Ministers, one being Lord Aberdeen, and the other Lord Palmerston. Both these Governments Lord Russell joined, and both he assisted to destroy. I owe *him* no allegianee." Everybody knows how these debates ended. On the night of the 27th of April, the House of Commons was under the spell of Mr. Gladstone's eloquenee, and an eleetrie wave of exeitement ran through it as the division on the Bill was ordered. One description of the seene says: "In the preeeding debate the member for Calne had been the most eonspieuous figure. If he had not exhibited the foree or passion of a great orator, he had shown an intensity of feeling, a eombination of fear, seorn, and hatred profoundly telling and dramatie, while his speeehes, eouehed in language artifieial, it may be, but admirable, had been adorned with images of rare felieity, and glowed with a classieal polish whieh still renders their perusal a literary pleasure." After the two opposing hosts had filed into their respeetive lobbies, it began to be mooted that the Ministerial vietory would be one hardly distinguishable from a defeat; and when the numbers were declared, it appeared that Mr. Gladstone eseaped failure only by a majority of five.

But though he got the Russell-Gladstone Government turned out, he did not lay the speetre of Reform. The Derby-Disraeli Ministry, by way of rewarding his serviees, offered him a seat in the Tory Cabinet. To his honour be it stated Mr. Lowe deelined to entertain any proposals to take offiee in the Conservative Government. Indeed, when Lord Derby's Cabinet brought in their Reform Bill, he was as bitter and vehement in opposing their measure as he had been in attaeking the Bill introdueed by Lord Russell. The Conservative surrender elieited from him a second series of brilliant anti-Reform speeehes, in whieh he handled what Lord Cranborne called the greatest politieal betrayal in our Parliamentary annals quite as rudely as Mr. Disraeli denouneed Sir Robert Peel's eoneession to the Free-Traders. He was taunted one night with being responsible for rejeeting a moderate measure of Reform only to find himself faee to faee with a more demoeratie one than ever. He was told the fates and destinies had been too strong for him. His reply was most effeetive, and will long be remembered as a speeimen of polished but ineisive Parliamentary sareasm. "Of the fates and destinies," said Mr. Lowe, "I have no fear. What have been too strong for me are the shabbiness, the littleness, the meanness, that have met together. Upon a former oeeasion I said if we embarked in this course of democraey we should either ruin our party or our eountry. Sir, I was wrong: it is not a question of alternatives: we are going to ruin both." The passing of the Household Suffrage Reform Bill gave rise to a marked ehange in Mr. Lowe's edueational poliey. It was

on the 15th of July, 1867, when the Bill was read a third time, that Mr. Lowe, in the course of giving the measure a sort of parting kick, said, "I suppose now it will be absolutely necessary to educate our masters. I was before this opposed to centralisation: I am now ready to accept centralisation. I was opposed to an education-rate: I am now ready to accept one. This question is no longer a religious question, but a political one. From the moment you entrust the masses with power, their education becomes an imperative necessity; and though I believe the existing system is one superior to the much-vaunted Continental system, we shall have to destroy it: it is not quality, but quantity we shall require. You have placed the government of this country in the hands of the masses, and you must therefore give them education." In 1868, Mr. Lowe made his peace with the party from whom he had temporarily revolted. He joined Mr. Gladstone in opening his campaign against the Established Church of Ireland, and was of such inestimable service that his former desertion was forgiven. The speeches in which he assailed the Irish Church Establishment were quite as trenchant and vigorous as those in which he attacked the Russell-Gladstone administration. He denounced the Irish Church as one founded on injustice—"on the dominant rights of the few over the many." He declared it was like some exotic brought from a far country—loaded with infinite pains and useless trouble. "It is kept alive with the greatest difficulty, and at great expense, in an ungenial climate and an ungrateful soil. It has no leaves, puts forth no blossom, yields no fruit. Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?" At the general election which followed the defeat of the Tory Government on this question, Mr. Lowe was elected member for London University; and in December, 1868, when Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister, he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Lowe proved himself one of the sternest and most incorruptible guardians of the public purse this country has ever had. He set his face against all profligate expenditure, and showed himself to be inflexible, out-spoken, and regardless of all considerations of expediency to an extent that soon made him most unpopular amongst that large class who burn to dip their hands into the coffers of the Treasury. He was not content with merely refusing their requests. He was wont to accompany his refusals with sarcastic little speeches which were even as gall and wormwood to those to whom they were addressed. A very good illustration of this bent in his character was afforded by his remarks to a deputation, from the Society of Antiquaries, who asked him for a grant to excavate certain tumuli in the plains of Troy. He told them that he could not give it, because the scheme "has no practical object, and only aims at satisfying the curiosity of those who believe that the narrative of Homer was a true history, and not the creation of a poet's imagination." He hinted there was one way in which the money might be got. "The school-boy enthusiasm of Europe, some had said, liberated Greece from Turkey. Is not the literary enthusiasm of wealthy England equal to the enterprise of exploring scenes which are ever recurring to the imagination of every one who has received a classical education? . . . Shall it be said that a large number of wealthy English noblemen and gentlemen can find no better expedient for the gratification of a liberal curiosity than to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to employ for its satisfaction money wrung from the earnings of the poorest in the community? . . . If one-half the energy which is devoted in attempts to obtain aid from Government were given to create a similar spirit of private munificence, this and many similar objects might be achieved with the utmost facility and completeness." Of course it is at all times disagreeable to deal with deputations of this sort. But Mr. Lowe was not the man to flinch from speaking his mind freely, or from doing an obvious duty merely because such an act was unpleasant. He seemed to take a positive delight in repressing the "interests" which in this country are

ever clamorous for "grants in aid," and we need hardly say reaped his reward in a storm of unpopularity. Yet he was not averse to spend money in really noble national undertakings. It was made a charge against him that he discouraged science and repressed culture. Yet it is a fact which ought never to be forgotten, that it was Mr. Lowe who dispatched from England the greatest and most perfectly equipped scientific expedition that ever left these shores—to wit, the surveying-ship *Challenger*—an expedition that will probably add far more new discoveries to the realm of science than even the more popular Arctic Expedition which was fitted out in 1875.

In his official capacity as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lowe, though he at first became singularly unpopular by proposing a tax on lucifer matches, effected many bold and useful financial reforms. We are not amongst those who sneer at his schemes as "fancy Budgets," and hint that the measure of his failure is his unpopularity amongst his professed opponents in politics. Mr. Lowe, without any special provisions or any ostentatious flourish of trumpets, during his tenure of office paid off more of the National Debt than most of his predecessors; he remitted fourteen millions of taxes, and he was never without a surplus, even though he had to find the money for two very extravagant pieces of expenditure—the cost of the Abyssinian war and the purchase of the Telegraphs by the State. His most beneficial financial reform was the substitution of a system of licenses for assessments, which so greatly increased the ease and cheapened the cost of collecting the Inland Revenue.

However, after reviewing Mr. Lowe's career, it is obvious that as a statesman he is not likely to take high rank, though, on the other hand, as an administrator and a political critic he is second to none in Europe at the present moment. His defect is want of faith in popular convictions, due to the fact, probably, that he himself has hardly any that are not for the most part extremely unpopular. He is a man who has made a deep and lasting mark on the Parliamentary history of his time; and if he did not ignore those weaknesses of human nature from which he is himself exempt; if he did not manifest his scorn for dulness and stupidity with such brutal frankness; if he did not treat everybody who happens to differ from him as if he were a fool or a knave; if, as has been well said, he would recognise that the men he has to manage are not dead, cold, passionless abstractions, incapable of being irritated by irony or contempt—Mr. Lowe might, perhaps, some day soon attain to what has always been thought the chief end of his ambition—the Premiership of England.

[*The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.*]

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